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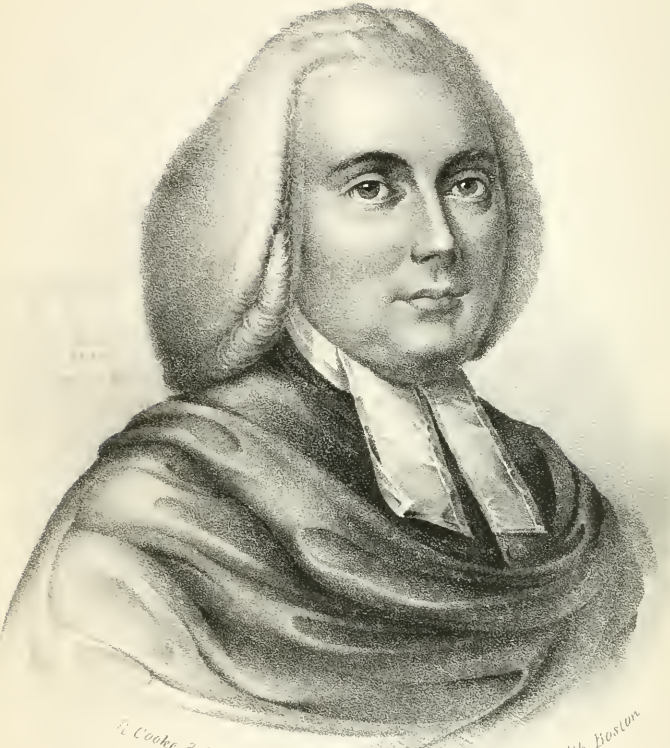

MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

REV. JONATHAN MAYHEW, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE WEST CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN BOSTON,

FROM JUNE, 1747, TO JULY, 1766.

BY ALDEN BRADFORD, LL. D.,

HONORARY MEMBER OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW-YORK AND OF PENNSYLVANIA,
AUTHOR OF HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, EDITOR OF MASSACHUSETTS
STATE PAPERS, &C.

"I am, indeed, a 'poor man,' as this gentleman calls me; but, through the goodness of God, and the generosity of his people, I have a comfortable subsistence and contentment; which, if attended with integrity and godliness, is all the gain my soul aspires after in this world. In this respect, I have been publicly upbraided—in another sense, as I suppose. Nor has the irreproachable memory of my father escaped insult from some of my opponents. But I had rather be the poor son of a *good* man, who spent a long life in the laborious and apostolic employment of preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ to poor Indians, than the rich son and heir of one who, by temporizing in religion and tampering with politics, by flattering the great, and prostituting his conscience, has made his way to a bishoprick and the worldly dignity of a peer."—[*Remarks on an anonymous writer, supposed to be the archbishop of Canterbury.*]

"I must, once for all, declare, that I will not be even religiously scolded, nor pitied, nor wept or lamented, out of any opinions which I believe, on the authority of scripture, in the exercise of that small share of reason which God has given me; nor will I postpone this authority to that of all the good fathers of the church, with that of the good mothers added to it."—[*Preface to sermons on hearing the word and receiving it with meekness.*]

BOSTON:
C. C. LITTLE & CO.
1838.

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TO

REV. CHARLES LOWELL, D. D.,

SENIOR PASTOR OF THE WEST CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

It is not merely because you are a successor of the distinguished divine and patriot, a Memoir of whose life and writings I have here attempted to give, that I am induced to prefix your name to this volume. Nor is it to secure a more favorable reception for the work with the community; though I am fully sensible that it will thus obtain a far greater share of public notice. But my principal inducement arises from the consideration of the similarity of character, which you so justly sustain, to that of your eminent predecessor, whose moral courage was equalled by very few persons in New-England; and because the same catholic and independent spirit, which animated him, has ever been manifested by you. Like him, you have declined to call any one master, in religious matters, save Jesus Christ, 'whom God sanctified and sent into the world,' and made our spiritual Teacher and Lord; and have practically adhered to the distinguishing principle of protestants, in making the Bible your only oracle and rule. Like him, also, you have ever discovered a true spirit of patriotism, superior alike to the pretences of modern innovators and ultra reformers, and to those—if there are any such in our republic—

who would disparage the rights, or seek to abridge the comforts of the common class of citizens; and, like him, your great purpose and labor have been to impart religious knowledge to your people, and to assist them in forming a christian character, that they might be useful in the world and prepared for heaven; knowing 'that godliness has the promise of the life which now is, as well as of that which is to come.'

There is another consideration—if any other need be suggested—that I undertook this Memoir with your particular approbation, and am indebted to your kindness for several facts and anecdotes, which cannot fail to be interesting.*

I could also speak of a long period of personal acquaintance and friendship, which it has been my favored lot to enjoy, and of the frequent co-operation of efforts, in public societies,† for the moral improvement of our fellow-men: but it might be thought unsuitable; and I will only refer to these acts of christian fellowship, in which I have often witnessed your zeal, your prudence, and singleness of purpose, as furnishing an apology for this expression of the sentiments of great regard and esteem, with which

I am, dear Sir,
Most sincerely, your friend,
Alden Bradford.

Boston, Chesnut Street, April 10, 1838.

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* To my old and respected friends, Rev. Dr. Harris and Rev. Dr. Peirce, I am also obliged for some valuable hints relating to this Memoir.

† The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity; the Evangelical Missionary Society; the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance; and the Peace Society.

PREFACE.

At a very early age, I imbibed sentiments of great respect for the fathers of New-England; and was induced to study their character and history with some care. And a similar taste led me to study the character of our immediate predecessors, who possessed much of the spirit of the three first generations, and from whose conduct and principles one may learn what were the peculiar 'features of that age.' Many of the contemporaries of Dr. Mayhew survived him, by twenty-five years; and with several of them I had a personal acquaintance—as Gay, Chauncy, Cooper, Shute, Turner, West, Tucker, Hemmenway, Webster, &c.

Fifty years ago, some of the most eminent men in Massachusetts expressed a wish to have the works of Dr. Mayhew re-published, with a memoir of his life and literary labors. They considered this to be justly due to his memory, as well as extending a knowledge of his writings, which they deemed important, as furnishing an able defence both for rational religion and republican freedom. It seems due also to the New-England character for talent and learning, particularly theological knowledge, that such a ripe and liberal scholar as Mayhew, should be honorably noticed, and his useful writings preserved and recollected. By the influence of his elevated theological views, a new era commenced in the Christian church, among the descendants of the puritans. And from his day, men have been no longer obliged to discard reason, to be religious, either as to their belief or practice.

If it were my only purpose to eulogise Dr. Mayhew, or to represent him as a man of rare talent and excellence, and to cover his defects—such as they might have been—from public notice, I should have suppressed much of his controversial writings, which I have here given. For, in his dispute with episcopalians, and in his reply to Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, of Ipswich, he was frequently severe or sarcastic: and to those who do not fully consider the designs and plans of the episcopal hierarchy, and the spirit of fanaticism which then existed and were in operation, some of his remarks may appear reprehensible. But fidelity seemed to require that a specimen of all his writings, both as to the spirit and style, should be given. And, with some things to regret, in the instances here referred to, he will probably stand justified, as a controversialist, and a defender both of Christian liberty and of rational religion, when pleading against ecclesiastical domination and spiritual bigotry.

Rev. Dr. Lowell, a successor of Dr. Mayhew, and who has read his writings, and well understands his character, both as a Christian minister and a man, says, 'Mr. Cleaveland justly merited all the severity of rebuke contained in Mayhew's reply: for, in his attack on the opinions of the latter, Mr. Cleaveland had perverted his language, with evident design, and had represented him as denying the essential doctrines of the gospel, and as being of the same opinion with deists and infidels.'

It is well known to such as are acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the country, that, at an early period in the settlement of New England, attempts were often made to introduce the forms of religious worship and government, according to the English established church. The design does not appear to have been relinquished by the zealous advocates of episcopacy, either among the clergy or laity, in succeeding periods. Some efforts were made to introduce the episcopal form of worship in the first generation; and Sir E. Andros, in 1688, was a zealous episcopalian, and insisted on the use of the congregational meeting-house for worship, according to the liturgy and rites of the English church. He even ordered the 30th of January to be observed as a *fast*, by *all* in the colony, and that *all* business be suspended. His arbitrary measures justly alarmed the people, with regard to their religious, as well as their civil rights. After the second charter, in 1692, the governors, in the several colonies, appointed by the crown, were specially instructed to favor and patronize the episcopal missionaries sent into the country; and the object of the latter was obviously to make proselytes to the church of England, and to gain the ascendency in America. And it will not be surprising to those who refer to the claims and usurpations of the English hierarchy, ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth, or Henry VIII., or who remember the sufferings of the dissenters from that church in former times, that the puritans, who first settled Massachusetts, for the sake of their Christian rights and privileges, or their descendants, have been always alarmed by, and opposed to such attempts. In the time of Dr. Mayhew, or at a little earlier period, a system was maturing for extending the bounds of the English episcopal church in the colonies, and various expedients adopted to increase its numbers and authority. And there was a serious and general apprehension, that a revenue was to be collected here, as well for the support of bishops and other episcopal clergy in America, as for the salaries of civil rulers and magistrates. Many clergymen of the episcopal church were placed in old towns in New-England, where learned congregational ministers were settled; and it was proposed in England to have several bishops also to reside here. In 1762, the society in England for propagating the gospel in the new and destitute settlements in the provinces, which was wholly under the direction of the bishops there, had eighty-five missionaries in America, and chiefly in New-England, in towns provided with able Christian teachers and pastors, at the annual expense of £3720 sterling.

The following paragraph, from one of his publications, will fully express the views of Dr. Mayhew on this subject.

'I would not have it understood that I approved of the ancient laws made in the colony, which bore hard on the members of the church of England. It is my opinion that they were unjustifiable, and I am sincerely glad they are no longer in force. It is the *exclusive* spirit of the episcopal clergy, their efforts in proselyting, their assumed superiority, their claims of a divine right to administer the ordinances and to dispense the doctrines of the gospel—and their evident design to establish the church of England here, or to have it enjoy the *peculiar* favor and support of the civil authority—of these I do disapprove—and these I shall oppose. I have often said, and now again declare, that I esteem and highly honor many episcopalians, as persons of virtue, moderation, and candor; and I am desirous of living in friendship and good neighborhood with them, notwithstanding differences of opinion, if they will *condescend* to permit me.'

It is lately said, that 'the church of England has been asleep since the time of Elizabeth.' But was it *asleep* in the days of James I., or of Charles I. and II., or of James II.? Was it *asleep* in the time of William III., or of Anne; or even in the days of George II. and III.? Certainly not. It was as watchful as ever. But the enlightened and liberal views which prevailed, owing to the writings of independent and honest men among the dissenters, have led them to despair of making proselytes, as formerly; or of exercising the arbitrary power in ecclesiastical affairs, which was done under Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., or James II.

Those who prefer what they suppose *prudent*, to what is *true*, may think it had been better to have omitted some parts of Dr. Mayhew's observations on the conduct of episcopalians, both in his day and in preceding periods. But it was believed that fidelity required these extracts, as going to exhibit the whole character of the writer. And if the early Christians were justified in opposing idolatry and polytheism; if Luther can be vindicated in his severe censures of papists in his day; and if our puritan fathers may be approved for their opposition to the usurpations of the episcopal church in their time;—a good apology, surely, may be given for Dr. Mayhew, in exposing the insidious efforts of the English hierarchy to *establish* their church, and in adopting the language of crimination of their perversion of the legitimate design of the Society for Propagating the Gospel.

Neither the church of England, nor the church of Rome, is to be opposed as one was by the protestants, and the other by puritans, two and three hundred years ago. The members of those ancient churches have relaxed somewhat of their efforts, both in making proselytes and in persecuting dissenters. But the ambitious and exclusive spirit of those churches has not wholly disappeared. It is not yet quite certain, that if protestant dissenters and independents become lukewarm and indifferent in support of their principles for religious liberty, the episcopalians and catholics would not improve such an occasion for extending the bounds of their dominion, respectively; and when they feel very powerful, they will be likely to persecute, or directly to oppose, those classes of Christians, who wish to adhere to the forms and the precedents to be found in the scriptures. It may be well then to revive the history of past times, and to award due praise to those 'brave spirits,' who, like Mayhew, stood forth in defence of religious liberty, and of the simplicity and purity of the gospel.

I have referred, also, to the writings of Dr. Mayhew, as an able advocate for civil liberty; for his ability and worth would not be fully set forth, if this part of his character were omitted.

It has been thought proper to give copious extracts from his publications, the more fully to exhibit his opinions on moral and religious subjects, as well as to do justice to his industry and independence. His great excellence consisted in his able defence and illustration of the principles of morals and of natural religion; and in his rational, clear, and impressive statements touching the true doctrines of the gospel.

Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, of Boston, and governor Livingston, of New-Jersey, published remarks, about the year 1766, respecting the plans of the English hierarchy to support bishops in America, and to bring over the people in the colonies to the church of England; and on the sermon of the bishop of Landaff, who had insisted on sending episcopal clergy and bishops into the colonies, as the only way to promote religion and good manners. Neither they nor any others in this country were desirous of excluding the episcopalian forms of worship; but they feared that when bishops were established here, and the royal governors gave special favor and privileges to episcopalians, that church would become exclusive and intolerant, as it had always been in Great Britain. And therefore it was that the friends of religious liberty were led to write so much on the subject, during the last century. Dr. Eliot says, 'I am not fond of the establishment of a particular form of religion, in any place. All such establishments are contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and to the religion of Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world. I desire no law to tax episcopalians to support any ministers but their own; and I think it would be an honor to the nation, if all such burthens were removed from the dissenters in the parent country.'

But a small part of the publications of Dr. Mayhew, however, were on the subject of episcopacy. They were mostly designed to illustrate the moral character and government of God; to show that the divine grace, as revealed in the gospel, was far different from what the popular creed represented it; and to persuade men to a godly and virtuous life, by a sincere conformity to Christian precepts.

MEMOIR

OF

REV. DR. MAYHEW.

CHAPTER I.

Character of first settlers and early inhabitants of New-England—Of those of the fourth and fifth generation, in the middle of the last century—The Mayhew family—The early life of Mr. Mayhew, till his ordination.

During the last century, there were many distinguished scholars and able writers in Massachusetts, and other parts of New-England; and a great portion were to be found among the clergy. Religious controversies prevailed, and questions arose in speculative theology, which particularly called forth the talents of clergymen, and served to discipline and strengthen their intellectual powers. There was no one, of any character for literary eminence, or who was desirous of understanding the nature of these disputes, but felt obliged both to read and to think; to give much study and inquiry as to the doctrines of revelation.*

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* It is sufficient to refer to discussions, then becoming more frequent than at any former period, respecting the peculiar tenets of calvinism, and to disputes respecting *Whitfield*, and those of his school, who condemned most of the regular clergy as unconverted, and who run into the wildest fanaticism and antinomianism. Whitfield made great disorder in the churches, and even threatened to have the clergy who opposed him dismissed from their parishes, and others of his opinions placed in their stead. About this time, also, Rev. Jonathan Edwards published his treatise on the will, in which he decried human liberty, or moral power in man, and pleaded ably for the scheme of *necessity*, not varying materially from the deistical writers, *Hobbes* and *Collins*, though objecting to some of their conclusions.

Learning and scholarship were not, indeed, confined to the clergy. There were many bright lights in the political firmament; and most of the scholars of that period, among the laity, were learned theologians and able metaphysicians. Wealth was not then considered the first and greatest good; and 'the pride of life' was not so much displayed or affected by the people in New-England, three generations past, as at present.

After the middle of the last century, the all-absorbing subject of political liberty was agitated, in the dispute which arose with the government of Great Britain, which long exercised the minds and the pens of many, till the war of the revolution commenced in 1775: and thus the talents of the laity were put in requisition, to enlighten the people, and save the country from impending slavery. The political writings of some of the American patriots may be justly compared with those of the first statesmen in England. The clergy, also, generally, took an interest in the great questions touching the civil rights and privileges of the colonies. They were well aware that religious and civil liberty must survive or cease, must prosper or perish together; and they had usually been consulted in most of the important questions relating more immediately to the concerns of the Commonwealth.

Most of these eminent men, both of the clergy and laity, were educated in Harvard college; and there early received strong impressions in favor of civil liberty:* and during fifty years, from 1720 to 1770, (and the period might be extended,) great numbers were there formed for useful members, both of the church and the state.

In the first and early inhabitants of New-England, there was an almost equal degree of fear of encroachments from the political and ecclesiastical claims of the parent country: and while they were ever careful to guard their civil rights from violation or abridgement, their greatest desire evidently was to preserve their religious privileges from all foreign usurpations or interference. Whatever were their mistakes, as to particular doctrines or forms, believing those they had adopted to be agreeable to the gospel, they were resolved to defend them; and their greatest error was in deciding for all others what were the essential truths of revelation. The principles they professed were in favor of religious liberty and the supreme authority of inspired truth; but their practice was often inconsistent with the abstract maxim which they professed and defended. We must therefore approve of their principles, though we condemn their bigotry and intolerance. The leading men among them, though less tolerant than Locke, who indeed lived at a later period than the first settlement, would readily have said with him, that 'he should take his religion from the bible, let it agree with what sect it might; for it would be inquired of him, at the last day, not whether he had been of the church of England, or of Geneva, but whether he diligently sought and embraced the truth.' Nor was the declaration of the famous Mr. Cotton, one of the first ministers of Boston, very dissimilar, when questioned by his bishop, before he left England: that, 'though he did much prefer some other men's wisdom and learning, he must form his own creed, and that from the bible; for he must live and be judged by his own faith.'

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* The college library contained the writings of Sidney, Milton, Locke, and others, who favored free inquiry in religion, and were also able advocates for civil liberty.

Much of the peculiar spirit and principles of the fathers of New-England, was preserved to the fourth and fifth generations. The character of the latter was formed, in a great measure, on the model of those who had preceded them; happily improved and softened, however, both in external deportment and theological spirit. In the character of the first inhabitants of New-England, there was a union of piety, resolution, and sternness; and the latter feature has rendered them less amiable in our estimation, than their high moral qualities might justly claim for them.*

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*I am fully aware that some writers have misrepresented the character of these resolute and pious men, and loaded them with reproach and censure, either from ignorance or prejudice. But those who best knew them have been ever ready to honor their memories, and to appreciate their motives. A writer in England, in the last century, referring to the character of the first and early settlers of Massachusetts, and to their sacrifices and sufferings, says, 'When we read of the astonishing hardships and dangers which they encountered, and the wisdom and fortitude with which they overcame them, so as to

This repulsive trait of character wore off, in some measure, in the fourth and fifth generations; so that, about the middle of the last century, the external manners of our ancestors assumed a more gracious aspect, and, in their religious opinions, they became more rational and tolerant. Still, so much of the ancient deportment and habits were retained, that a degree of reserve and gravity, as well as of moral discipline and self-restraint, was observable, which would now form as great a contrast with prevailing manners, as those did with the early days of New-England. Candor and toleration were not considered Christian virtues, by the two first generations; but, in the belief that they had found the right way, they denounced all who deviated from them as obstinate heretics. A century from the first settlement, more catholic sentiments prevailed. Persecution lost all its rage, and while most were strongly attached to the sect to which they belonged, they were more willing to allow religious liberty to others.

There are those, however, even of the present age, who, with the exception of all intolerance and bigotry, prefer the more rigid system of our ancestors, to the opposite one of great laxity and indulgence. Its fruits were manly virtue, resolution in discharge of duty, and endurance of great privations and sufferings with perfect resignation. Such was the parental government, such the discipline of schools, and such the influence of the clergy with children, that the young were early imbued with a salutary and restraining spirit, which fortified them against temptations, and gave them early habits of subordination and industry. There was submission without servility, authority without severity, refinement without luxury, and grace without affectation or display. The young were taught to love order, virtue, and

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found such a prosperous and useful colony, under good and wise regulations, we shall learn to revere the fathers of our American brethren, and to esteem their posterity.' And *Lechford*, a lawyer, who was in the colony in 1642, not at all partial to the rulers of that day, as he was an episcopalian, says, 'the wisest men, in their circumstances, and with so many difficulties to encounter, would probably have committed much greater mistakes than they did.' There were wild notions both of liberty and of religion, threatening ruin to the colony; and great prudence and firmness were alike necessary to maintain order and authority in the community.

labor, and thus to act early from principle and a sense of duty; while the middle-aged and the more advanced in life were consulting for the welfare of their posterity, by defending civil liberty, opposing all encroachments of arbitrary power, and providing for the permanence of literary and religious institutions.

Such, indeed, had also been the aim and purpose of the men of the preceding generations. They had early established schools for the children of all classes, and provided for the support of learned teachers of religion; and their attention was always awake to guard and defend their political rights. For the views of the British government had long been such towards the colonies, that it was necessary, for the preservation of their social rights and republican institutions, to protest, to contend, and to struggle, against a succession of arbitrary rulers, who would have kept the people in the colonies in a state of utter submission and vassalage.

Here, then, was a field for the constant exercise of the talents of the ablest and wisest men in this country; and both the laity and clergy were zealously engaged in the contest. Religious and civil liberty were so congenial, and had so often been in danger from the same causes, that this union of effort was equally wise and natural. In contending for their rights as Christians, it was almost impossible not to assert those belonging to them as members of civil society: and those, also, who pleaded most directly for the latter, were naturally led to speak in favor of the former. The laity and clergy were therefore found associated in the great cause of political and religious liberty, and in opposing the assumed authority of prelates, and the arbitrary claims of kings and princes.

But with all their love of liberty, both civil and religious, these men should not be likened to the levellers, or to the rash and pretended reformers of later times. They had a deep sense of the importance of order and authority in society: for though they contended for liberty, it was the liberty of obeying their divine Lord, against the arbitrary exercise of power, in fallible men, over their minds or persons. They readily bowed to the authority of Christ, of scripture, and of God, who, they believed, had ordained civil government for the welfare of society. The spirit of loyalty, and a love of social order, were also fully manifested by them. The people of New-England were chiefly distinguished for their attachment to religious liberty; and it was a matter of conscience with them to contend for the primitive doctrines and ordinances of the gospel, in opposition to all ecclesiastical domination and all human impositions. It was on this account, and not from 'any dislike to the king or civil government,' that they left their native land, and hazarded so much, and suffered so much, by settling in a new and distant region of the earth. Nor did they expect to live without political authority and order; but early provided for the election and support of civil magistrates, as well as for able and pious teachers of religion; and established schools and colleges, to qualify those who should succeed them to be rulers, and guides, and instructors in the community. Up to the middle of the last century, the character and views, and the policy and principles of our fathers were not materially changed.

At this period, and in such a state of society, lived the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, and took a leading part in the most important public disputes. For several years, he was one of the most popular and able writers in Massachusetts. But his career was short, as well as brilliant. He died at the age of forty-six.* And yet he had written so much and so well, so appropriately and so powerfully, that he has been considered, by those acquainted with his works, and qualified to judge of their merit, as entitled to a high rank in the first class of American authors.

Jonathan Mayhew was a son of Rev. Experience Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard; where he was born in the year 1720. The family was respectable in all its stages, from his ancestor, of the fourth preceding generation, Thomas Mayhew, who was the first English settler and proprietor of that Island. He lived to an advanced age, and for many years was considered the governor, as he was the oldest inhabitant and magistrate of the place. But he was most distinguished by his judicious efforts to convert the native Indians, who were then numerous, to the knowledge and faith of the gospel. He had lived some time in Massachusetts, both at Mystic and Watertown, as early as 1632 or 1633; but in 1640, or '41, he removed to the Vineyard, and was long the patriarch and chief of the English settlement on the Island. In his labors, for the conversion of the pagan inhabitants, he preceded even Eliot, of Roxbury, who has been not unjustly called the apostle to the Indians. And his labors were not without success. Many were led to embrace the gospel, and to live, in a good measure, under its blessed influence. His conduct towards them was kind and parental; and the natives were as much attached to him as to Roger Williams or to William Penn. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., a son of the first proprietor, early devoted himself, also, to instruct and enlighten the Indians. But he was lost at the age of thirty-five, on his passage to England, in 1657.* Two grandsons, and a great grandson of the first Thomas Mayhew were also religious teachers of the native Indians on the Vineyard. And in the early days of the English settlement, the aborigines were very numerous there.† They had peculiar advantages for fishing on the Island; and they escaped the ravages of the fatal pestilence, which had swept away most of the tribes within Plymouth and Massachusetts patents.

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* He was twenty-four years of age when he finished his education in the University, in 1744.

Experience Mayhew, the father of Jonathan, and a grandson of Thomas, Jr., was many years a missionary to the Indians residing on the Vineyard, from the Society in England; and had the character of an able and faithful minister of the gospel, though not favored with a collegiate education. He received an honorary degree of A. M., at Harvard college, in 1720, when only five persons had then been so distinguished. The Indians were much improved under his judicious and faithful ministry;[*] and he had the character of an able theologian. He published a volume entitled, 'Grace Defended;' in which his object was to show, that though our salvation is of grace, we must be *active* in receiving or improving the grace bestowed or offered us. It was deviating somewhat from the technical and scholastic system of the day, called calvinistic, or orthodox; but it was a popular and useful work—was much admired and commended by those called moderate calvinists, and gained the author a good measure of celebrity, both for talents and piety.

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* A writer in Hist. Coll. says, Thomas Mayhew, Jr. had a *liberal* education. No doubt his father had given him a good education; but his name is not in the catalogue of Harvard; and he was too young, (only twelve,) when he left England with his father, in 1632, to have been educated at a university in that country. Cotton Mather, who probably is the authority for this assertion, says, 'Thomas Mayhew, Jr. went on the Vineyard in 1642,' the year after his father purchased it; that 'he had good abilities, no small knowledge of Latin and Greek, and was not wholly a stranger to Hebrew.'

† They were estimated at five thousand and upwards.

Experience Mayhew was engaged in a controversy with Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, President of the college in Princeton, N. J., about the year 1743 and 1744; in which he wrote in favor of human liberty, as it has been said, with much ingenuity and logical acumen. Two long letters of Mr. Mayhew have been noticed, and one of Dickinson. The views and arguments of the latter were similar to those of Edwards; and seem to be intended as a defence of the calvinistic doctrine of total depravity: while Mayhew contended for a degree of moral power, for choosing or rejecting an object presented, requiring moral action, or an act of the will. He pleaded for a self-determining power in man, with certain limitations; and represented volition not as an effect, strictly speaking, but as the mind acting; and thus endeavored to avoid the conclusion adopted by Dickinson, that volition was an effect, and man a machine.[†]

Experience Mayhew also wrote strictures on the conduct and preaching of Whitfield, in 1743, with a view of exposing his errors and extravagancies, and rebuking him for his uncharitable and censorious speeches of the regular clergy.

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[*] He published an account of the conversion of Indians on the Vineyard, which was highly favorable to them, as well as to himself, in his efforts for their religious welfare. But it has been said, it was written by one personally interested, and was more favorable than the truth would fully justify. That many were benefitted by his preaching, and some made sincerely pious and virtuous by his Christian labors, cannot justly be doubted.

[†] It has been said, that Rev. Dr. Gay gave an opinion that Experience Mayhew, the father, had equal ability and discrimination, as a reasoner, with his son.

Whitfield had often said they were 'dumb dogs,' 'half devils, and half beasts, unconverted, spiritually blind, and leading their people to hell.' Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. Wigglesworth, (the elder,) also wrote against the irregular conduct of Whitfield. The independence of the father, in his theological views, and his departure, in some measure, from the calvinistic standard, was the occasion of the son's superiority to all human creeds, however venerable from antiquity, or formidable from the great number of advocates.

Experience Mayhew had several sons, and two of them were educated in Harvard college—Nathan, who died two years after he was graduated, and while preparing for the ministry, and Jonathan, the subject of this memoir.* He had another son, by the name of Zachary, who was several years a laborious and useful teacher of the Indians on the Vineyard, and lived to very advanced age. Several of the family survived eighty years. The first Thomas was ninety-one at his death, in 1681; John, his grandson and son of Thomas, Jr., lived to the age of eighty-nine; Experience reached the age of eighty-four; and Zachary, that of eighty-nine. Six of the family were missionaries to the Indians on the Island.

From this brief statement, the family may justly be said to have been a remarkable one; both on account of their efforts in christianizing the Indians, and their personal moral worth: and one is prepared to find the sons of *Experience* to be sober and pious youth, and well disciplined in mind and morals. They were early taught to read the volume of revelation; and when somewhat advanced to manhood, enjoined to form their opinions from the inspired writings, instead of blindly conforming to any theological system adopted by fallible men. And this wise and Christian advice served to prepare *Jonathan*, (and probably the other sons, also,) in some good measure, for those liberal views which he discovered through life, and to form his character, as a Christian and a theologian, on the model of the celebrated Mr. *Robinson*,* the pastor of the persecuted puritan church, which fled from England to Holland, and thence to Plymouth, in America, in 1620. Mr. Mayhew had much of the independent and catholic spirit of that eminent man: for though he was ready to listen to theologians of other times, he did not rest his faith on the opinions of Luther or Calvin, but appealed to the inspired volume to learn the will of God, and the doctrines of his divine teacher and Lord. The eminent men, with whom he became acquainted at the university, and with whom he associated when he engaged in the clerical profession, were of liberal views; and encouraged him to pursue the course which his venerable parent had advised or indicated.

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* Joseph Mayhew, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1730, and was some time a tutor and fellow in the college, was a nephew of Experience Mayhew.

The clergy of New-England, at this period, had a high character both for learning and piety. Not, indeed, that this character was peculiar to them, of that age. From the first settlement of the country, they were distinguished for their learning and exemplary morals. Nor have they fallen from this high character, in more recent times. Still the greater number of those living in the period referred to, from 1720 to 1770, (and the time might be extended,) are justly entitled to the praise of cultivating human learning, and of laboring faithfully in the sacred cause of religion. And most of them, particularly in the latter part of that period, were zealous advocates for civil liberty, and for the political rights and privileges which their fathers had enjoyed, and which were then threatened to be wrested from them by the hand of arbitrary power in the parent government. In the infancy of the colony, the clergy had been often consulted by the civil magistrates, in cases of difficulty in government; and their learning and character fully entitled them to such confidence. And such was the nature of our commonwealth, even while dependent, as a colony or a province, on Great Britain, that the clergy had been accustomed, by general acquiescence, to take a part, occasionally, in directing or advising to the policy which was pursued.

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* When a part of his church was about removing from him to America, Mr. Robinson said, 'It was much to be lamented that protestants blindly followed *Luther* and *Calvin*, and would search no further for the truths of revelation;' adding, that 'he believed more light would break forth from the word of God; and which should be studied, as the only oracle and source of religious truth:'—a sentiment which cannot be too often stated and urged, correct as it may appear to every intelligent Christian.

Mr. Mayhew gave evidence of uncommon moral virtue in early life. A deep sense of religion, and a spirit of piety were manifested in his deportment, while he was quite young; and he was then also distinguished for his frankness and sincerity. What was the extent or nature of his personal or secret sins, it were needless to inquire; but, without supposing him invariably and minutely correct, there is reason to believe that he knew little of the remorse arising from a recollection of early or former transgressions. While a student in the university, his sober and religious behavior was noticed by all his contemporaries; but, at the same time, he was free from that gloomy and precise deportment, which often seems rather to excite disgust than to procure esteem. And he was there equally distinguished for his literary industry; not only in a uniform and close application to the regular studies enjoined in the institution, but in additional reading, at times when most others were buried in sleep, or engaged in recreations. He seems, indeed, to have 'been sanctified from his childhood,' through the instructions and admonitions of his pious parent;* and early to have been convinced of the importance both of personal virtue, and of redeeming the time given him for gaining knowledge.

The parental influence, no doubt, followed and guided him in his college life. Soon after he became a member, his father addressed a long letter to him, with this text of scripture prefixed—'The knowledge of the *holy* is understanding, or true wisdom.' The state of young Mayhew's mind may be learnt from his letters, at this time, to his venerable father, and to his brother Zachary, who was older than himself, and was also then preparing to assist his father as a teacher of the Indians. These letters show the deep sense he had of the importance of personal virtue, as well as piety to God; and he also urged his brother to personal religion, as well as to gain the knowledge of divine truth to dispense to others. While a member of college, Mr. Mayhew made a visit to York, Maine, where, at the time, was a great religious revival, of which he gave his brother a particular account. He noticed the extravagances and fanaticism which prevailed; the violent gestures, and shrieks, and groans; and seems to have been much affected at the scene. But he could distinguish justly; and while he lamented and condemned the extravagance of many, he was satisfied most were sincere, and some permanently converted. And it would seem that the extravagances then witnessed by him, led him to be so guarded and discriminating in his preaching, as he was; in warning against mere feeling and warm passions in religion, and in insisting on solid, habitual, and uniform obedience. He lost none of his piety or other Christian graces afterwards, but valued rational religion and sincere Christian virtue the more highly.

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* It has been said, with what authority cannot now be decided, that the father was not desirous his son should go to college, or be a clergyman. Nor can it be more than mere conjecture, if true, what led him to object. It might be, that he was aware of the great trials and difficulties attending the profession, at that time; and that his son might be too independent and rational for the age. There is, however, a different tradition, which is more probable—that the father favored his having a public education, with particular reference to the ministry, as the older son, Nathan, had deceased; and that he sold part of his landed estate to meet the expense.

The natural abilities of Mr. Mayhew were far superior to most men—if it be proper to call those powers *natural*, which are early manifested; and when great discernment, discrimination of mind, and sound judgment, are also exhibited. But it is difficult to say how much of what is usually called natural talent, or ability, is owing to favorable opportunities for mental developement and exercise, with which some are favored far beyond the rest of mankind. His acquirements, also, were much greater than most young men make with the best advantages, in so short a time. Whether this must be attributed to a superior genius, or to judicious reading, or to a careful digestion of the subjects of which the books he read treated,* or to a habit of comparing and analyzing ethical and theological systems, or to the mature age when he was at college, I shall not pretend to decide. Probably there was a concurrence of these circumstances and influences; for he was early known to be of a

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* It appears that he read ecclesiastical history with attention and judgment; that he was acquainted with the writings of the early Christian apologists, which have been handed down to later times, and with the eminent polemic writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. He was also familiar with the writings of Dr. S. Clarke, of Milton, Locke, Taylor, Wollaston, Whiston, &c. But the

bible only was his oracle. For his object was religious truth—his purpose, to learn the pure doctrines of revelation, and to exercise his reason in comparing and judging as to the meaning of the inspired writers.

It is evident, from some of the discourses of Mr. Mayhew, that he was a great admirer of Dr. S. Clarke, whose voluminous works were in his day much read by the liberal clergy; and who was a rational divine, as well as most powerful reasoner. Dr. Clarke was opposed to creeds, especially the Athanasian; and, in other respects, was an advocate for free inquiry, and a strenuous defender of the doctrine of moral liberty. He delivered a course of lectures, on the foundation of the celebrated Sir R. Boyle, 'in which he asserted and vindicated the great fundamentals of natural and revealed religion; and he was happily qualified for the service, by his great talents and learning. The subject was, the existence of God, a being of all possible perfections. He instructed and astonished his hearers, who were some of the most learned in England.' He noticed the arguments of Spinoza and Hobbes, then the most plausible patrons of fate and necessity, but since followed by Collins, Hume, and others, among whom Jonathan Edwards has sometimes been ranked; who, though not admitting the conclusions of deistical writers, asserted and contended for the doctrine of necessity, and opposed the theory of human liberty, or the freedom of the will, equally with the former; and whose book alarmed many orthodox calvinists of the day. To this theory Clarke zealously objected, as tending to destroy all *free* actions in any intelligent being, and therefore, all moral virtue. 'Dr. Clarke began with self-evident propositions, from which he advanced to others depending on or deducible from the former. In these discourses, he laid deep the foundations of morality, in the relations of things and persons to one another, and in the unalterable fitness of some actions and unfitness of others, according to the will of the intelligent and wise Creator, which is evident from his making man capable of perceiving these relations and this fitness; of judging of them, and of acting agreeably to such judgment.' He then proceeded to prove the Christian religion to be worthy of God, from the internal evidence arising from the perfect agreeableness of its great leading design to the light of reason and nature; and also to show that it had the divine sanction from external evidence, prophecy, miracles, and history. 'Every Christian ought to esteem them a treasure, as they contain the great arguments of natural and revealed religion—for if the latter be ever removed from such a foundation, or separated from such an alliance with reason, it will not long subsist in the faith of intelligent persons. Therefore, what God has joined together, let not man put asunder.' At a later period, when Mr. Clarke proceeded doctor in divinity, he defended the two following propositions:—'No article of Christian faith, delivered in the holy scriptures, is disagreeable to right reason: Without liberty of human actions, there can be no real religion or morality.' A long dispute afterwards took place between Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke, as may be recollected, on liberty and necessity. Human liberty, or moral agency, was ably defended by Clarke—for it was always a darling point with him—in opposition to necessarians of every description, whose writings, he insisted, tended either to atheism or to what was much the same, fatalism. This eminent theologian and philosopher studious, reflecting habit, to be diligent and methodical, and to express his opinions with great strength and clearness. His personal friends and associates always spoke of him as one of uncommonly distinct views, of sound reasoning, and of correct judgment. In the first years of his public life, he had a reputation of possessing strong intellectual powers; and yet there can be no doubt that this reputation was sustained and increased by great literary diligence and application. He was not only a popular and eloquent preacher and powerful writer, but a man of great learning. And yet he was not a mere scholar. He aimed rather at sound learning and useful knowledge, that he might understand the great subjects of dispute in ethics and theology, and learn what were the arguments used by the disputants. While an under-graduate in the university, he was also distinguished, among his fellow-students, for solid learning, and ranked high as a classical scholar. He wrote Latin correctly, and with some degree of elegance, though not in the finished and harmonious style of Cicero. Some of his compositions in the Latin language, were published; and when he left the university, it was not without a promise of the distinction, as an acute reasoner and an able theologian, which he afterwards soon attained. While in college, he wrote several essays, both in prose and in verse, which were supposed to be the productions of one of riper years, by those who did not know the author.

Mr. Mayhew became an ordained minister of the gospel in less than three years after he received his first degree. At that period, it was not uncommon to preach and to settle in the ministry within three years after completing the collegiate course. Fifty years before, the time was usually five or six years. Mr. Mayhew was older, when at college, than the majority of the students are; and having probably early intended to devote himself to the Christian ministry, he

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also wrote largely in defence of the Christian revelation. His first position or principle, as is well known, was the *unity* of God; which he considered the only guard against idolatry, as well as the basis of all morality and all religious obedience. Next to this fundamental and all-important doctrine, nothing appeared more strongly fixed in his mind than the belief of man's moral power, or freedom of the will.

might have given more of his time, while an under-graduate, to the study of theology and kindred subjects, than most others who were designed for the sacred profession. When he took his first degree, in 1744, he was about twenty-four years of age.

How the time of Mr. Mayhew was occupied after he received his first degree, and before he was ordained, which was nearly three years, cannot be now fully stated. It is believed he spent part of the time in teaching youth; but there is evidence, from his letters to his father, that he resided at the college a portion of this time; but the precise period is not known. Several of his letters, written in 1746, are dated from Cambridge.* In one of these he excuses himself for not visiting his father, on account of his attention to theological studies, as he intended then soon to preach. It is not probable that his father had a library sufficient to satisfy young Mayhew, even at this age. It is believed that he spent some time, at this period, in the family of Rev. Dr. Gay, of Hingham, with whom he early became acquainted, and for whose character he had a high regard. At this period, as appears from an imperfect journal, and a book of extracts from Locke, Clarke, and others, he adopted rules for his reading and future conduct, in which he speaks of the importance of method, and of reflecting on what is read.

To such a man as Mayhew, especially one of his age and attainments, it could be no disadvantage to be settled in the ministry, so soon after his collegiate course had expired; but, as a general rule, the present practice of studying theology three years, at least, is attended with many advantages, both to young ministers and to the people of their charge. They have thus sufficient time to examine the evidences of Christianity, and to learn the nature and spirit of this holy religion; to compare different theological systems, and the peculiar opinions of different Christian sects; and to lay up in store a fund of knowledge, which will serve to make them able ministers of the gospel. An ignorant clergy must be a great evil in a community. Indifference, superstition, or fanaticism will most probably prevail among the people, when the clergy are illiterate: and the plausible skeptic, who is even quite superficial in his learning, may raise objections, which an uneducated minister cannot answer, and which may serve to deceive and corrupt his society.

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* It appears, by one of these letters, that he had been often absent from college, while an under-graduate, because of his poverty; and that he was desirous of making up, by close application, for neglect of former opportunities.

Further inquiries and study—and the faithful, enlightened Christian minister will never feel it consistent with his duty to relax in his researches—may indeed produce some change of opinion on speculative points of theology;* but the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel are the same to-day, yesterday, and forever; and the evidences of the divine origin of Christianity are substantially the same now as they were eighteen centuries ago—such as prophecies, miracles—sublime and consoling truths, above the efforts of human reason to discover; the pure and perfect character of its author, and its early and rapid prevalence, without the aid of human power or learning.

To those who are acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts, it is well known, that about the middle of the last century, there was a considerable change in the views of many of the clergy, touching some speculative tenets, which, before that period, had been generally received, and deemed orthodox, if not essential.† This change was gradual and almost imperceptible, and may justly be attributed to the spirit of free and independent inquiry, growing out of the liberal system adopted in the university; of a careful study of the early Christian writers; and especially of an impartial perusal of the inspired volume, without seeking there for a support of the doctrines previously received, and authoritatively taught in the orthodox system of theology and in the catechisms of the day. But this spirit of inquiry, and independence of thinking, and forming their own opinions, was not wanton nor extravagant. The more liberal men of that age bowed before the majesty of revealed truth, as much as any in former periods had done, and wisely used the writings of learned and pious men of earlier times, though not as infallible guides. The moral character and government of God; his constant overruling providence; the pure and sound doctrines of the gospel, 'which are according to godliness.'—were professed and advocated as ably and zealously by the latter, or more liberal clergy, (as they were called,) as by any others. The trinitarian dogma, as taught by the Nicene and Athanasian creeds; the doctrine of total depravity; of irrespective decrees, involving personal election and reprobation, without reference to moral character; of miraculous and instantaneous conversion, and the utter inability of man to become religious, without special and irresistible grace,—these were denied or doubted. Few, indeed, expressly denied and openly opposed them. But many refrained from inculcating them, or to speak of them, except to qualify them, or to *attempt* to explain them, without denying man's moral freedom and accountability—or endeavoring to show that the trinitarian tenet, as they held it, was not inconsistent with the doctrine of the divine unity. These were called either arminians or moderate calvinists, and arians or semi-arians, as they deviated less or more from the orthodox or calvin-

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* It was said by the celebrated Dr. Owen, to one who was very positive and dogmatical, and who censured all further inquiry into the correctness of the popular creed, 'that he would not be a rival to that theologian, who could boast that in fourteen years he had not altered or improved his conceptions touching some things in religion.'

† These were the five points of calvinism, so called—the principal of which were the doctrine of a *trinity* and of *total depravity:* for on these the others wholly depended. The trinitarian creed was now openly rejected by some, or received with great qualifications. So, also, the doctrine of the total depravity of man, and of the vicarious sufferings of Christ. But they who denied these doctrines, still held that Jesus Christ was, in *some sense*, a divine person, owing to the union or extraordinary communication of the spirit of God. They also professed the doctrine of *atonement;* though they explained it differently from the rigid calvinists; and they also considered man in a fallen and depraved state. The trinitarian dogma, though attempted indeed to be supported or favored by some texts of scripture, was specially urged as necessary to prove that an infinite atonement had been made by the death of one of

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the divine persons in the trinity, and that this was necessary, as sin was an infinite evil—and total depravity was necessary, to show the utter moral inability of man to repent and reform; and hence the doctrine of election, of special and irresistible grace, and of the infinite righteousness of Christ, arising from his sufferings as an infinite being, imparted to some few who were elected, to render them acceptable to God. All this was quite ingenious, but none the less unscriptural, irrational, and absurd.

istic creed. The doctrine of the trinity was approached with evident caution and reluctance: for most considered it of difficult interpretation, and as involved in mystery, which could not be fully explained or comprehended, and had therefore better not be discussed; and thus contented themselves with the phraseology of scripture on the subject. That of total depravity, and others flowing from it or connected with it, was more openly opposed, as it was thought dishonorable to the character of God—a libel on human nature, discouraging to all efforts for moral and religious improvement, and unsupported by scripture; especially as inculcated by those of the more zealous of the calvinistic school of that day.

Of those clergymen, who openly opposed, or did not teach and advocate the calvinistic doctrines, at the time referred to, and whose orthodoxy was denied or suspected, were Appleton, Gay, Chauncy, Rand, Eelles, Cooke, Fogg, E. Barnard, Eliot, Webster, Stevens, Bryant, Tucker, Smith, Hitchcock, Harrington, Shute, Williams, Cooper, Mayhew, Wibird, Cushing, Wigglesworth, Symmes, Willard, Adams, Barnes, Turner, Dana, Thayer, Fiske, West, Hemmenway.*

The most open and undisguised of this great number, in opposing the leading doctrines of the calvinistic system, was Mr. Mayhew. And this was to be expected of one of his frankness and sincerity, of his close and impartial examination of the sacred scriptures, in the due exercise of his reason and understanding. He early gave his views on most of the doctrines then called orthodox, to the public; and expressed his own opinions with unwonted clearness and decision. So that, if his sincerity was not doubted, his independence and boldness were generally considered imprudent; and the fears of some, and the censures of others were freely expressed, as to the tenor and tendency of his writings, which most supposed hostile to revealed truth, as well as fatal to calvinism.

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* Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, Dr. Gay, of Hingham, Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, William Rand, of Kingston, Nathaniel Eelles, of Scituate, Edward Barnard, of Haverhill, Samuel Cooke, of West Cambridge, Jeremiah Fogg, of Kensington, N. H., Dr. A. Eliot, of Boston, Dr. Samuel Webster, of Salisbury, Lemuel Bryant, of Braintree, Dr. Stevens, of Kittery, Dr. Tucker, of Newbury, Timothy Harrington, of Lancaster, Dr. Hitchcock, of Pembroke, Josiah Smith, of Pembroke, William Smith, of Weymouth, Dr. Shute, of Hingham, Dr. Samuel Cooper, of Boston, Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, Abraham Williams, of Sandwich, Anthony Wibird, of Braintree, (Quincy,) Dr. Cushing, of Waltham, Dr. Wigglesworth, (Professor,) Dr. Symmes, of Andover, Dr. John Willard, of Connecticut, Amos Adams, of Roxbury, Dr. Barnes, of Scituate, Charles Turner, of Duxbury, Dr. Dana, of Connecticut, Ebenezer Thayer, of Hampton, N. H., Dr. Fiske, of Brookfield, Dr. West, of Dartmouth, Dr. Hemmenway, of Wells. To these might be added, of a little later period, Dr. Coffin, of Buxton, Dr. Howard, Dr. West, Dr. Lathrop, Dr. Belknap, of Boston, Dr. Cummings, of Billerica, Dr. Deane, of Portland, Thomas Cary, of Newburyport, Dr. Fobes, of Raynham, Timothy Hilliard, of Cambridge, Thomas Haven, of Reading, Dr. Willard, of Beverly.

Mr. Mayhew was ordained over the west church and society in Boston,* in June, 1747: and even then he had the reputation of an able logician and theologian, as well as of a good classical and general scholar. But for nearly twenty years after, the term of his public clerical life, his fame, as an eloquent preacher, a powerful writer, and an ardent advocate of civil and religious liberty, was constantly extending and increasing.

A reference to the facts attending his settlement† and ordination in the ministry, will serve to show something of the theological spirit and character of that age. On the day first appointed for the ceremony of his induction, only two of the clergymen invited, attended; and they advised to call another council, for some future day. Not one of the Boston clergy attended on the day first proposed. But Rev. Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, was one of those present.* Yet he must have been fully acquainted with the theological opinions and views of Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Appleton, however, with the reputation of orthodoxy, was not disposed to press the adoption of all the articles in the calvinistic creed, on young men entering into the Christian ministry. He was too enlightened in his views, to suppose sincere piety, or faith in divine revelation, were confined to those who professed the trinitarian creed, or the abstruse tenets of calvinism. There were many anecdotes in the recollection of those who were his contemporaries, of his disposition to waive a minute examination into the creed of candidates for ordination, which most ministers then urged and insisted on.

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* He was invited to settle in Cohasset, before.

† At the meeting of the church and society, which united in calling Mr. Mayhew, the church waiving all right and claim to take the lead, separately, on the occasion, Samuel Waldo, Esq. was moderator. Forty-six votes were given, and forty-four were for Mr. Mayhew. Fifteen pounds, old tenor, was the weekly sum allowed for his support. The society was respectable, both for numbers and for men of education and distinction; and it increased within a few years after Mr. Mayhew's ordination. Harrison Gray, Chief Justice Stephen Sewall, John Avery, (father of late Secretary Avery, and he also afterwards,) William Clark, Esq., Samuel Eliot, Walley, Bradford, Mackay, Tilden, Fletcher, Wells, Watts, Frankline, Gay, were members of the society, and it was the third for wealth and ability in the town.

The attachment of the society to Mr. Mayhew was very great, from the first; but it increased with his years and labors among them. In a letter to his father, about two years after his ordination, he says, 'My people are united, attentive, and kind; but I have little correspondence with the ministers of Boston, except two.' The weekly lecture, which he preached to his people in 1748 and 1749, required much time and labor; and in another letter to his father, he writes, 'The clergy of the town stand aloof from me, and I have to study hard, so that I cannot soon visit you, as I intended and desired.' These lectures were attended by persons of the other societies in Boston.

The second day appointed for the ordination, several churches were represented by their pastors and delegates.†

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* Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham, was the other. Five churches had been invited—that under the pastoral care of his father, on the Vineyard, and the first church in Boston, of which Dr. Chauncy was then a pastor, and the church in Brattle square, Boston. It may be matter of surprise, with many, that Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. Colman, (or Mr. Samuel Cooper, then his colleague,) declined taking a part in the ordination of Mr. Mayhew; for they were reputed men of liberal opinions, and Mayhew and Cooper were intimate at college. Perhaps their churches objected to their attending. Dr. Colman was then quite aged and infirm, and died about two months after, in August, 1747. Mr. Cooper might not have chosen to be very forward on the occasion; for Mayhew's theological opinions had even then excited attention and censure. Such, indeed, was the want of Christian charity, that the Boston clergy declined dining with the council when Mr. Mayhew was ordained. And even, several years after his ordination, when he had a lecture in his church, on account of a great earthquake, Rev. Dr. Pemberton advised his *barber* not to go and hear such a heretic, for he was sure he would hear, if he did not imbibe, some dangerous doctrines. Many of the clergy were at particular pains to excite the popular prejudice against Mr. Mayhew, for several years after his ordination. He complains of this in a letter to his father; and excuses himself for not visiting him, as he wished, because his studies were almost incessant, the Boston clergy declining to exchange with him. So strong was the prejudice against him, that Rev. Dr. Sewall and Rev. Mr. Prince, and two members of the Supreme Executive Council, signed a petition to the Board of Overseers, to have him excluded, on account of a note to one of his sermons, on the *trinity!*

† Fifteen churches were invited, and eleven were represented; all of them from country towns. The churches invited, were that under his father, Mr. Gay, of Hingham, Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, Mr. Hancock, of Lexington,

Whether any efforts were made by Mr. Mayhew, the candidate for settlement, or by members of the society, or by his friends elsewhere, to remove unjust impressions of his real opinions, and to show that he differed less, in his theological sentiments, from others, than was supposed, does not appear. It is not probable that he made any concessions to orthodoxy; for it was not in his character to do it. But it is not altogether improbable, that some of his friends,* who knew his real sentiments, and his high moral worth, made exertions to show that he was sufficiently grounded in the true Christian faith, though more disposed than most others to conform to the protestant principle of judging the meaning of revelation for himself.

It does not appear, from the record of the council's proceedings and votes, that there was a particular inquiry as to the doctrinal creed of Mr. Mayhew; though such examination was then considered important, if not necessary.† Mr. Gay, preached on the occasion; ‡ his venerable father gave the charge; and the fellowship of the churches was tendered by Mr. Prescott, of Salem village.§

Mr. Smith, of Weymouth, Mr. Rand, of Kingston, Mr. Cotton, of Newton, Mr. Cooke, of Sudbury, and Mr. Cooke, of Menotomy, (West Cambridge,) Mr. Williams, of Watertown, (now Waltham,) Mr. Clarke and Mr. Prescott, of Danvers, (or Salem village,) Mr. Sparhawk, of Salem, Mr. Bryant, of Braintree, and Mr. Rogers, of Littleton. Williams, Clarke, Sparhawk, and Rogers did not attend.

*Several of the clergy, who at first stood aloof from him, afterwards were satisfied that he held to the essential doctrines of the gospel.

† It has been said that Mr. Bryant, of Braintree, was not examined, as to his particular opinions, when he was ordained.

‡ In his address to the candidate, he used the following language, peculiarly expressive of a leading trait of character in young Mayhew, with whom, even then, Mr. Gay was well acquainted:—'I have been pleased, in frequent conversations with you, to observe your thirst after knowledge, and a desire to find truth; to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good.' The minds and views of such men as Gay and Mayhew were very congenial. They might both be called *Eclectics*, in the best sense of the term.

§ Rev. Benjamin Prescott was graduated at Cambridge, in 1709, and was distinguished as a scholar and divine. He was also less tenacious of the speculative tenets of Calvin, than most of his contemporaries, and independent in his opinions. He addressed Mr. Mayhew as the elder or *bishop* of the church. Mr. Cotton, of Newton, and Mr. Hancock, of Lexington, prayed.

Dr. Mayhew was not a member of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers; owing entirely, as is believed, to difference of opinion on some theological subjects. It is customary to apply for admission. Whether Dr. Mayhew applied, I am unable to state. It is not probable he made any application; for had he requested it, and been refused, there would have been some record or notice of it. He might have anticipated a refusal, if he should apply; or, more probably, he declined making the request, in the belief that it might serve to restrain his mind from that freedom of inquiry, which he held to be both his right and his duty. He therefore did not join with the other Boston ministers, in preaching the usual Thursday lectures, which were delivered weekly in the first church. The year next following his ordination, however, he had weekly lectures on religious subjects, in his own church, which were well attended, not only by his own society, but by many persons belonging to other churches in the town. Most of these discourses were afterwards published. Dr. Howard, the immediate successor of Dr. Mayhew, was formally invited to join the Boston Association, but not till he had been settled about seventeen years. His reply was, 'that he would take it into consideration;' and, six years after, he signified his wish to join, and was received. Rev. Dr. Eckley was one of the committee, in 1784, which invited Dr. Howard. Dr. Howard observed to the writer, forty-five years ago, 'that he was deemed quite heterodox when ordained, in 1767;' and added—'now I am *orthodox*, for *most* of my brethren believe as I do.'

Mr. Mayhew was diligent and faithful as a religious instructer: and probably no clergyman was more sincerely studious to promote the moral and spiritual welfare of the people of his charge. The Christian ministry appears to have been his early choice; and he ever manifested, in a high degree, the spirit of his sacred profession. At the same time, he took a lively interest in plans for the present welfare and happiness of his fellow men. He addressed both the old and the young, with peculiar force and appropriateness, and seized every occasion for giving religious instruction, and making religious impressions on the minds of his people; and, imitating alike the inspired prophet and the devoted apostle,* he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and a future judgment; he urged them to a sincere consideration of religious subjects; and he appealed both to the consciences and the understandings of his hearers, that they might judge whether he spoke 'the words of truth and soberness.' Instead of resting on ancient creeds, or human authority, for what he advanced and urged, he referred to the bible, and endeavored to convince the reason, as well as to affect the hearts of those whom he addressed. His sermons for young persons were very appropriate and useful, not only to those of his own society, but, being soon after published, were read by all portions of the community, who had not previous prejudices against his theological sentiments. The theme of these was, 'Young men also exhort to be sober-minded.' They were not, indeed, among his ablest discourses; but they were wholly of a practical tendency, and calculated to guide and improve the young.†

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* See Isaiah 1 : 18 ; Acts 24 : 25—also, Psalms 119 : 59.

† These were not among his most early publications, and were delivered in 1762. His sermons on the difference between right and wrong, were the first of his publications, and they appeared in 1749. A list of his printed works is here given, but will be particularly noticed hereafter.—In 1749, seven sermons on the difference of right and wrong, and the right of private judgment and of freedom of inquiry for religious and moral truth. In 1750, a discourse on the character of Charles I., and the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. 1751, on the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Election sermon in 1754. Two sermons on the earthquake in Nov. 1755; and in Dec. following, a discourse on same subject. In 1755, fourteen sermons on hearing the word, and receiving it with meekness—also, sermons on the vanity of human life; the proper use of life; and the necessity of a virtuous and holy life to true happiness. In 1758, two thanksgiving sermons. 1759, two thanksgiving sermons, on the capture of Quebec. 1760, a discourse on the great fire in Boston, March 20th. Same year, two thanksgiving sermons, on the reduction of Canada—a funeral sermon, on the death of Chief Justice Stephen Sewall—thirteen sermons, from Psalms 119 : 59. In 1761, a discourse on the death of George II., and the accession of George III.—two sermons on Luke 12 : 24—striving to enter into the strait gate. 1762, two thanksgiving discouses, on the divine goodness. In 1763, seven discourses to young men—also, two thanksgiving sermons—also, observations on the conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel—a reply to 'candid observations' on the former. In 1764, remarks on an anonymous tract; and letter of reproof to Mr. Cleaveland. In 1765, Dudlean lecture; and in 1766, discourse on the repeal of stamp act.

'Whenever he preached, the auditors were all attention. He reached their understanding and subdued their hearts: and, when explaining any of the great doctrines of the gospel, he would do it in such a clear and intelligible manner, that persons of the lowest capacity could not fail of understanding him; while the learned and ingenious hearer could not but be edified. He made it his care so to prepare his discourses as to enlighten the mind and to touch the heart; and so as at once to inform and profit both the learned and the illiterate. Few composed sermons with so much ease and pertinency; and few took occasion more frequently, from occurrences in providence, to render what he wrote and said more impressive and profitable.

'He possessed a warm imagination and a lively fancy, as well as a clear understanding and solid judgment; and seemed to have a deep impression on his own heart of all the great truths of revelation. And when he spoke of them, or urged them on the attention of others, it was with such clearness and energy, as left his hearers no power to resist, and no present feeling of indifference. The minds of his audience were enlightened with the doctrines of grace and salvation, free from that difficulty and obscurity in which human schemes of theology have too often involved them.'

His sermons, on the right of private judgment and Christian liberty—on love to God and man—on the extent of the divine goodness—on the folly and wickedness of popish superstition and idolatry—on the tory doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, (then much urged, both by courtiers and prelates,)—might almost be said to form a new style and manner of preaching, compared to that then most prevalent and popular. These subjects were treated by Dr. Mayhew, as one who had examined and thought for himself; and who, while he made the inspired volume the foundation and guide of his opinions, exercised his reason in judging of their true meaning, in comparing different parts, and in drawing his own conclusions, unbiassed by great names, or the popular creed of the day. He omitted the technical phrases and terms then used by most theologians; and, consulting his own understanding and judgment, presented his views, in an intelligible manner, to others, so as to enlighten, instruct, and convince. And his writings excited a great interest, both among the clergy and the laity. The former were alarmed or pleased, by his independence (according as they were attached or not to the ancient creed,) in expressing his religious opinions; and the latter applauded as well his theological sentiments, as his able and bold attack on the high tory doctrines, then beginning to be received in England, by plans to tax and legislate for the colonies, in a manner never before assumed by the British parliament, except in the days of the arbitrary Stuarts.

In his opinions, both on religious and political subjects, Mr. Mayhew exhibited great independence, as to human authority and the systems of antiquity. His sentiments were the result of careful enquiry, mature reflection, and frequent perusal of the sacred volume. And he never disguised his opinions, on any occasion, or in any company. He had, therefore, at an early period, many opposers; some, no doubt, sincere and honest; but some, also, of narrow and bigotted views, who dared not to think themselves, nor were willing others should use such liberty. But for the honor of human nature, let it be acknowledged, that many of liberal minds and truly religious characters, were his friends; and his frankness, his talents, and sincere piety, procured him numerous admirers, in a few years, both of the clergy and laity. Chief Justice Sewall was his early and constant friend; and his death, in 1760, was a severe loss to Dr. Mayhew, and to liberal Christianity, as well as to the judicial department and to the commonwealth.

Few men published so much, worth publishing, as Dr. Mayhew did. A great number of his discourses were issued from the press within five years after his ordination; and, from the fame of his talents and his independent opinions, were widely circulated. They were much admired, as well for the boldness as the ability of the writer. The learned among the laity sought for them and perused them with great avidity. Many of them were particularly commended by the eminent patriots of that period; and long after the lamented death of the writer, they were read and quoted by the most cultivated and intelligent portion of the community.* His discourses which had reference to the nature and true design of civil government, in which he opposed the slavish doctrines early advanced by some of the ministers of George III., were re-published in England, by the friends of political liberty and of the constitutional principles adopted at the revolution of 1688.† And the sermons on the right of private judgment, and on religious freedom, were received with high approbation, even by many of the clergy and people in Great Britain; ‡ and operated, it was believed, with the governors of the university at Aberdeen, Scotland, to confer on him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity, in 1751, when he was only thirty years of age.§

The discourses of Dr. Mayhew, on the Christian doctrines, and on moral and religious subjects generally, were admired and commended by the most discriminating persons in the country; and he had many such in his own church and congregation: || for he appealed rather to the understanding than to the feelings, though he was an impressive and popular speaker. He might justly be characterised as a rational and argumentative preacher; and yet his exhorta-

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[*] Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, James Otis, Judge Paine, Professor Winthrop, were his intimate friends, and highly esteemed him for his advocacy of civil liberty, as well as of rational religion; and he corresponded with patriotic individuals, both in the southern colonies and in Great Britain.

[†] These discourses were, particularly, that on the 30th of January, 1750, on the anniversary of the death of Charles I., and that delivered on the day of general election, May, 1754. For in these he spoke of the legitimate design of civil government, and of the evils of arbitrary power in rulers.

[‡] They were published in Boston in 1749, and in London, 1750.

[§] No other person in New-England had received that honorable notice, at such an early age. A few of the clergy had been thus distinguished, but they were all much older. They were Rev. Charles Chauncy, Professor Edward Wigglesworth, of Harvard college, Rev. Joseph Sewall, (Rev. Cotton Mather, at a much earlier period,) Rev. Samuel Mather, Rev. Mather Byles, Rev. Samuel Langdon, and Rev. Andrew Eliot—but after Dr. Mayhew. At that time only one degree of doctor of divinity had been conferred by the corporation and overseers of Harvard college, which was bestowed on Rev. Increase Mather, in 1692. The next degree of that kind conferred by Harvard college, was on Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge, in 1771. Since 1783, the corporation of this university have been less sparing in bestowing such honors.

[||] Among these were Chief Justice Stephen Sewall, who died in 1760, and was a very pious man, as well as eminent jurist and scholar; Harrison Gray, Robert T. Paine, afterwards Judge of the S. J. Court; Edmund Quincy, Samuel A. Otis, John Avery, Samuel Eliot, Martin Gay. H. G. Otis was baptized by Dr. Mayhew.

tions were often close, fervent, and powerful; so that they who heard him were almost ready to say, with the exception of our divine master and teacher, 'never man spake like this man.' It was evidently his desire and aim to inform and to impress, to convince and to persuade his auditors. What he believed, on careful examination, to be the truths of revelation, he stated clearly; their acception he recommended most earnestly; and submission to their spirit and influence, he inculcated with great seriousness and feeling. 'He spake with authority,' because he taught the doctrines of Jesus, the Messiah, in their purity and simplicity, as he learned them in the New Testament, without scholastic subtleties, or the dogmas of fallible men.* He satisfied the thirsty and hungry souls, because he gave them pure water from the wells of salvation; and he consoled the afflicted, and encouraged the contrite, by pointing them to the gracious promises of the Savior, that they who should repent would be forgiven, and they who came to him, in faith and obedience, would find spiritual peace.

Dr. Mayhew addressed men as accountable beings, and as having power to do the will of God, yet as needing divine grace and guidance, which would be afforded all such as should seek with sincerity and an obedient disposition.* And the doctrine of reconciliation to God, by the Mediator, was so stated and illustrated by him, that most approved and assented: for it magnified the divine grace, and displayed the benevolence of Christ, while it prevented presumption, or the hope of mercy, in those who remained under the power and in the practice of sin. He preached repentance towards God, and faith in the anointed Jesus, as the messenger from Jehovah, and the revealer of his will; and he charged men, that while they received Jesus Christ as their Savior, and trusted in his gracious promises for pardon and immortality, 'to give diligence to make their calling and election sure;' and 'to add to faith and knowledge, holy fortitude, patience, temperance, piety, and charity;' that while they acknowledged him as 'the chief corner-stone,' and rested on this sure foundation, 'they should not build thereon of hay and stubble.'

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*No one can obtain correct sentiments of the doctrines and the design of revelation, but by a frequent and careful perusal of the holy scriptures. Different parts of the inspired volume, and the books of the several writers, must be compared and studied, in order to acquire a just view and understanding of the whole. If we should confine our attention to some of St. Paul's writings, we might be subject to great mistakes, as to the nature and design of Christianity. But when we consider the declaration of the prophet, that 'this is what God requires of us, to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before him;' what an apostle has asserted, 'Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he who worships him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him;' that 'faith without works is dead;' that 'Abraham was justified by works, and not by faith alone;' that, 'of faith, hope, and charity, the greatest is charity;' that 'neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but the keeping of the divine commands;' and what our Lord taught in his discourse on the mount—'Blessed are the pure, the humble, the merciful, the peace-makers,' and that, 'not every one who should say, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but they who do the will of God:' when we consider these things, we shall learn not to lay much stress on creeds or formularies of faith, and be led to perceive that the great design of Christianity is the moral improvement and exaltation of mankind. It was in this way Dr. Mayhew formed his liberal and rational theological views. It is in this way that all inquiring men have become liberal in their religious views, and have been led to discard human authority in matters of faith.

It may be truly said, that Dr. Mayhew 'preached Jesus Christ, and him crucified;' and he insisted, as did the inspired apostles, 'that there was salvation in none other.' But he so taught and explained this doctrine, that, while his hearers perceived the necessity of faith in Jesus of Nazareth, as the 'Son of God,' or 'that Holy One whom the Father had sanctified and sent into the world;' and were convinced that the *first* 'great work which God required of them, was to believe on him whom he had sent;'—they were specially reminded of the necessity of performing all the duties enjoined in the gospel—as well those of charity and justice to man, and of personal holiness, as those of gratitude and piety to God.

It was said by Dr. Chauncy, in his sermon on the death of Dr. Mayhew, that the latter 'was a believer in the doctrine of the atonement; and that he was particularly led to mention it, because it had been said that Dr. Mayhew denied it.' This, indeed, was saying very little, or nothing definite on the point, without further explanation. And they who believe that Dr. Mayhew was consistent in his opinions, and that he did not receive any particular doctrine in such a sense as to militate with his general views of revelation, will not suppose, therefore, that he embraced the calvinistic creed, touching that doctrine which represents our Lord as a substitute for sinners, or that he really felt the guilt and suffered the punishment due to the wicked, or paid a price to God (by his death) to purchase the pardon and salvation of sinful men. His ideas of the original goodness and benevolence of the Deity, and of his government of moral and accountable beings, were such, that his belief in the atonement, or reconciliation by Christ, could have been none other than those of men who adopted other parts of his rational creed.* That he believed Jesus Christ was, under God, who is the original source of all goodness and mercy, a Savior, as well as a teacher; and that his humiliation, sufferings, and death, operated as means of our redemption, or were in some sense necessary for our having such a religion as the gospel—full of light, and truth, and grace—attended with divine authority and sanctions, exciting to holy gratitude and deep humility and penitence, and begetting a hope of immortality, which purifies and exalts our nature, and animates to patience in suffering, and resolution in active duty—so far as Dr. Mayhew's opinions on this subject can be gathered from his writings, this may be justly presumed and asserted. That he received the doctrine of atonement in some qualified sense, is evident from the explicit assertion of Dr. Chauncy, to which I have already referred. His opinion seems to have been similar to that of Dr. Price, of England, and of our own Dr. Noah Worcester. But I do not find, in any of his writings, the notion of vicarious suffering, or any expression in accordance with the system of Calvin and his followers. Indeed, he fully and expressly opposed the doctrine of imputed righteousness, and of Christ suffering the guilt and punishment due to a world of sinners; and yet, when he speaks on the subject of atonement, he is less explicit and plain than he usually was. And as he rejected the scholastic doctrine of the trinity, and that of the supreme deity of Christ, as well as the strange notion of the total depravity of man by nature, and had exalted ideas of the infinite, unpurchased goodness of God, he could have no reason, as they have who embrace these tenets, for adopting the article of imputed righteousness, or of atonement, as held by the reputed orthodox of his day; but must have had opinions reconcilable with his general faith or views on the other great doctrines of revelation.

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* His father had asserted and contended for the same doctrine. He wrote an appeal in favor of an important truth, viz.: the power of man to use the means of grace efficaciously; and that the grace necessary to a religious life was offered in the promise to repenting sinners. Dr. Mayhew advocated and ably illustrated this great truth in many of his writings, while strict calvinists denied it wholly.

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* It was enough to give color to the report of his denying the doctrine of atonement, that he rejected that tenet in the calvinistic sense; and to justify the remark of Dr. Chauncy, that 'he believed it,' that he did profess the doctrine, though in a different sense from the orthodox creed, as he has explained his views thereon in some of his writings. In these, it will be seen, that he was much of the opinion of the learned Dr. Henry More, (in 1660,) who said, 'he was fully satisfied the calvinistic doctrines were inconsistent with both the justice and goodness of God'—and he added, 'the sentiments which many now kick at, nothing will get the ascendant of; but they will, at a long run, lay flat all the *hypochondriacal* fanaticism in christendom.' Dr. Mayhew contributed his full share in reviving and establishing these rational and truly evangelical truths, in opposition to fanatics and ancient creed-worshippers, in his day—for which he received their opposition and reproach.

In speaking of the Savior, it seemed to be his favorite expression, to call him, 'the Son of God;'* and to represent him as the agent and medium of divine truth and grace. He was a decided Arian,† in his views of the nature of

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* It may be said, that this phrase conveys no definite metaphysical idea of the nature of our Lord, as it is often applied to good men. The phrase is used with reference to the miraculous birth of Christ; to his high and unlimited measure of inspiration, to enable him to be the teacher and author of a new and divine dispensation, and to his resurrection, as may be evident from Luke 1 : 35, John 10 : 36, Rom. 1 : 3 & 4; and seems clearly to imply the vast superiority of our Lord to all other prophets and messengers from God. We know the phrase *must* be in some sense figurative. And the explanations of arians some will think not more satisfactory than of the trinitarians. The doctrine of Lardner, that our Lord was a man, but directed and assisted in his ministry entirely by the spirit of God, or the Logos, is evidently the doctrine of the apostle John.

† It is well known to those at all conversant with ecclesiastical history, that in the last century, even from the beginning of it, as well as near its close and in the early part of the present, that a host of Christian divines, both in England and America, objected to the trinitarian creed. Dr. Samuel Clarke and Rev. W. Whiston were Arians, or, as some called them, semi-arians, more than a century ago; and from their day, the rejection of the Athanasian and Nicene creeds was quite common. But few of these were Socinians, or believers in the theory of Lardner respecting the Logos.

Christ; and in his time that was the doctrine of most who were anti-trinitarian. And though it was very different from the calvinistic sense of atonement, and vicarious sufferings or imputed righteousness, it admitted and urged the doctrine of reconciliation by the Savior, and of the great spiritual blessings derived to us by the mediation, death, and intercession of Christ; and they who adopted it, contended that in consideration of the death of our Lord, it was more proper and suitable to offer men pardon and salvation on repentance—and that the doctrine had a tendency to make men humble, grateful, and obedient. But the phraseology of the latter was very different from that of the strict calvinists. When some one of the friends of Dr. Mayhew informed him that he was charged with depreciating and lowering the character and merits of Christ, after he had written against the Athanasian creed, he replied, 'My views are misrepresented;' and added, 'I believe in him as my inspired teacher and Savior; my soul loves and adores him.' But a paragraph from one of his printed sermons will best show what his opinion was, touching this doctrine; and yet I cannot but observe, that he is not altogether so clear and definite as on most other subjects.*

In one of his discourses, on the extent and perfection of God's goodness, he says—'One principal end of Christ's being sent into the world, was to proclaim the glad tidings of pardon and eternal life to sinful, mortal man, as the *free* gift of God, through his mediation; particularly through the atonement to be made by his blood, when he should offer himself up to God, as a lamb without blemish and without spot; thereby supporting the honor of God's violated laws, and the dignity of his moral government, in such sort, that guilty creatures might receive the forgiveness of sins and eternal life, in a way the most agreeable to infinite wisdom, and therefore more agreeable to infinite goodness and mercy also, than if they had been pardoned and saved without any intervening sacrifice for sin. Thus, by the Christian revelation—a light indeed from heaven—sinful men are delivered from that state of darkness and perplexity, respecting pardon and a future life, in which the mere light of nature actually leaves them. In this dispensation of grace, the goodness of God, and his tender mercy for the sinful children of men, are most clearly and gloriously manifested. It is both a faithful (or true) doctrine, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. Take heed, therefore, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain; for he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.

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* His explanation of the phrase, 'righteousness of God,' and 'righteousness of Christ,' will show that he did not embrace the *then* popular doctrine of the atonement. The righteousness of God, he considered, as many theologians have since, as synonymous with the 'method of righteousness, or justification, provided by God in the gospel, as distinct from the Jewish idea of righteousness, by observing outward forms and rites: and the righteousness of Christ, as faith in his doctrines, and a conformity to his spirit and precepts.

'It is greatly to be lamented, that this gracious gospel, the glad tidings of great joy to all people, so full of heavenly peace and hope, and such a wonderful manifestation of the love of God to mankind; that 'this glorious gospel of the blessed God,' should be perverted by many, and so restrained as to the number of those for whose salvation it was designed, so narrowed, so clogged with needless difficulties and unscriptural mysteries, by dark systems of divinity, produced in dark and corrupt ages, as to become rather an engine for disturbing truly pious and good Christians with doubts and fears, than to be an adequate relief to awakened sinners, by really manifesting the riches of God's goodness to a guilty world, in its proper extent, through him who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.*

'It may be objected that the scripture doctrine of Christ's atonement, or sacrifice, is inconsistent with the perfect goodness of God. For, if God be perfectly good and merciful in his nature, why, it may be asked, does he not forgive the sins of men without any sacrifice, without any reconciliation for sin? I answer, we are assured, in the holy scriptures, that God forgives the sins of men, through the sacrifice of Christ intervening, rather than without any; not because he is, in his own nature, deficient in goodness, or not perfectly merciful; but because he is infinitely wise, as well as merciful—taking such a method herein, as is in its nature admirably adapted to magnify the law and make it honorable; which is evidently best, even for his rational and moral creatures. In this sense, the apostle, having observed, 'that Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man,' adds, 'for it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.' *

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*There is a great coincidence between this reasoning, or these remarks, and the reply of Dr. Leland to deistical writers, (about the middle of last century,) who objected to the doctrine of the mediation of Christ.

'The scriptures uniformly speak of Christ's mediation, and his dying for sinners, as an effect or consequence of God's original goodness and mercy. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' In this was manifested the love of God towards us: he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. These representations of Christ's dying for us, as consequential to, and the effect of, God's love and grace, are so far from supposing any such justice in God, as some speak of, distinct from goodness, and to satisfy which Christ *must* die, that they appear to me absolutely irreconcilable with it. Nor does it seem even possible to assert and maintain this most important doctrine of our redemption by the blood of Christ; but, on the supposition of its being the wisest and best, i. e. the most benevolent and gracious method of dispensing pardon and life to sinful men, in such a sense as wholly and forever to exclude any such idea of divine justice, as is often given us.'

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*It has always been a matter of dispute with Christians, in what sense Christ was made a sacrifice for sinful men. It seems plain, that if God is essentially benevolent in himself, and if repentance and personal virtue are necessary to our salvation, then the doctrine of vicarious sufferings, and of imputed righteousness, as commonly urged, cannot be true; and it is necessary to consider the passages of scripture respecting the sacrifice of Christ, and his blood cleansing from sin, as figurative expressions. It is a remarkable fact, that Mr. Pynchon, one of the principal men among the puritans, who settled Massachusetts in 1630, was accused and confined for heresy, on account of holding that the sufferings of Christ were but trials of his obedience. To establish a system of sufficient moral power to arouse, reform, and sanctify the world, Christ was sent by God, and in executing his commission, he taught and bore witness to great moral and religious truths; he taught, he suffered and died, in prosecution of the spiritual and heavenly service committed to him. And he was raised from the dead to confirm the truth of his divine authority and mission. Had he not been crucified, or died in a public manner, his death and resurrection would have been denied, or doubted. But his death was not, and could not be denied; and his appearance afterwards must be allowed miraculous, and therefore proof of his being the sent of God. The truth of christianity and of its sublime and redeeming doctrines are thus fully established and confirmed.

The doctrine of the atonement is, confessedly, beset with difficulties, not easily explained to the comprehension or satisfaction of all men: and it appears most manifest, that in most if not in all places where Christ is said to be a sacrifice for sin, the expressions are in some measure figurative. A construction of such passages must be sought for, in the general tenor of revelation, and with reference to the character of God, as made known to us by his works and word. Now we admit that he operates in the course of his providence by second causes, by what we call natural laws, or by the agency of intelligent beings. Some are made ministering spirits to others, for good or for evil; and are instruments and agents for conferring privileges, or bringing misery on their fellow creatures. It is difficult to conceive how physical causes should produce moral effects: and yet sufferings do often tend to the moral improvement both of those who are the subjects of them, and of others who witness or hear of them. There may not be, as we generally suppose, any strict connexion between the material and spiritual worlds; and yet the former is sometimes subservient or instrumental to the benefit of the latter. We know not and cannot explain the good resulting from the mediation of one being to others; nor the connexion between praying for and receiving spiritual blessings and aid. But the scriptures teach that there are such results, and such a connexion; and there is nothing in physics or philosophy to disprove the doctrine.* The scriptures speak of the spiritual or moral benefits of the mediation of good men, and especially of Christ. Whether this is direct and immediate, or only arises from the sublime and interesting truths of the gospel, confirmed by the death and resurrection of Christ, on attentive and docile minds, it may be difficult to determine; but the former appears clearly asserted, and is not opposed to reason or philosophy. So it is with prayer; the efficacy and even propriety of which some affect to doubt. But who is sufficiently acquainted with the spiritual world, to decide that sincere and humble prayer is vain and ineffectual. It may not visibly bring, at the time, all we ask for; and it will not prevail to the obtaining of worldly honors or riches; but it may secure spiritual blessings; and such is the benefit which revelation teaches us to expect from it. By prayer, we are brought nearer to the Father of our spirits; we may be said to live in a pure and spiritual world. And there may be such a sympathy, such an attraction, so to speak, between our spirits, if devoutly raised to God, and the gifts and influences of his blessed spirit, that we shall be soothed, exalted, and purified by our sincere and humble aspirations. It was prayer in our Lord, and in holy men of former times,—may it not also be justly said, in later periods?—which placed them in the presence of God, or made them feel to be so, and brought down holy and pure influences upon their souls. We may not now expect, by our prayers, to be able to perform miracles. Yet the devout and pious are promised the guidance and support of heaven in their trials, which is better to them than the power to perform signs and wonders.

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* True philosophy teaches, what is every where implied in the sacred volume, that there is an infinite mind or spirit, co-extensive with the universe, pervading, directing, upholding, and governing all things. The religious man calls this *providence;* and the enlightened philosopher only uses different terms, in speaking of the same doctrine. The idea of a providence, in some sense—and we know the doctrine is differently explained—necessarily follows from that of an infinite mind, which creates, upholds, and controls all things.

Like all other faithful ministers of the gospel, Dr. Mayhew was earnestly desirous of the religious improvement of his people, and was always laboring for their good. And yet he took a deep interest in the welfare of his country, and wrote in defence of its liberties, when the exigency demanded the patriotic services of the citizens. Some one has said, when giving the character of a certain clergyman, that 'he was a mere minister.' Surely it should be the chief object and desire of a Christian pastor, to be useful to his people, and to advance their spiritual welfare. Still a good clergyman may and ought to be a patriot; and his knowledge and influence may essentially serve the civil and social interests of his country. Dr. Mayhew proved himself a sincere and zealous patriot, at a time when the abilities of all the friends of liberty were in requisition for its support and preservation in America. But it is understood that he did not neglect any of his duties as a Christian minister, to aid in the defence of civil freedom; nor take part in the political discussions of the day, from motives of worldly ambition. The connexion between the church and the state in England, and the apprehension of having bishops, as well as secular chiefs, clothed with a controling power over the colonies, would fully justify a faithful and devoted minister of the gospel in giving his aid and influence for the maintenance of the ancient liberties of the people.*

Some of the occasional sermons of Dr. Mayhew, as that on the anniversary of the death of king Charles I., delivered January, 1750, that on the general election, May, 1754, and that on the repeal of the stamp act, in May, 1766, afforded proof of his perfect knowledge of the nature of government, of the principles of civil liberty, and of his strong sense of the injustice of all arbitrary power; and some of his statements and arguments would have been no discredit to Samuel Adams or James Otis, two of the ablest writers in favor of the liberty of the colonies just before the revolution began. There appears, indeed, a strong resemblance between the views and even the arguments of these distinguished patriots and of Dr. Mayhew. They were contemporaries and friends, and, having like views and principles on the subject of political liberty, it is not strange that their arguments should be similar. It might be unjust to charge either with copying from the other; nor is it at all probable that such was the fact. The coincidence in their several opinions, relating to the legitimate design of civil government, and their mutual love of liberty, may be justly attributed to the perusal of the writings of the same great advocates for freedom in England, during a century then passed; to their education at the same university; to their reverence for the character and principles of their ancestors, who were the defenders of republican liberty; and to their frequent interviews at that critical period.

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* A very great majority of the clergy of Massachusetts were supporters of civil liberty, in 1775, and many took an active part in the contest. Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Andrew Eliot, Dr. Lathrop cum multis aliis, were of this character.

We shall, however, still find Dr. Mayhew chiefly desirous and laboring to render the people of his society well grounded in the belief of Christianity; which he was also careful to teach them was agreeable to natural religion. He had diligently and impartially attended to the evidences of both; and he was convinced they afforded mutual support to each other. The moral attributes and government of God were frequently the theme of his discourses: and, instead of representing these as in opposition or contrast to the gospel, he pointed out their agreement and harmony;* and it is probable that his strong faith in the great doctrines of natural religion, had an influence in forming the elevated views which he adopted of the true character and design of the Christian revelation; and thus to confirm the suggestions and dictates of sober reason, at the same time that it teaches new and most important, and interesting truths respecting the paternal character and propitious nature of the deity, and of a future, immortal life.†

Dr. Mayhew believed God to be the wise and benevolent Father of all men, to whom he had granted reason as a guide, and by 'his inspiration given understanding;' and that the gospel was designed to establish the truths of natural theology, as well as to give support to the hope of immortality, the doctrine of an overruling providence, and of a future retribution. It will, accordingly, be found from his writings, that he advanced no opinions or speculations, under the sanction of the gospel, which were contrary to the plain doctrines suggested and approved by reason, or which required labored arguments to reconcile them with our natural sentiments and apprehensions of the divine will, and of our duty to God and man.*

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* No doubt he had read Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion. Gov. Bowdoin said, it served greatly to remove his doubts, and to confirm his faith in revelation, when he was inquiring for religious truth.

† Eusebius says, that some, in his time, A. D. 320, objected to Christianity, that it was a new or modern religion, and could not therefore be true, as it would imply that the patriarchs, and other wise and holy men of old, were in gross error, and without a true knowledge or just sense of God. He replies, that they believed in and worshipped one God, were devout and thankful, were virtuous and pure in their lives, and just and benevolent to their fellow men; and were therefore to be considered Christians in spirit and character, though not in name; that Christ came to make men morally good, and obedient to God; and those who were so, should be ranked with his disciples. St. Paul says, 'the *gospel* was preached to Abraham.' He had the promise of divine favor, for his faith and trust in God, and for living according to the directions and commands given him from Jehovah. And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews asserts, that all the holy and good men of former times, had the promises of God, and would be partakers of them, though they lived not in the days of Christ. Thus they saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced in the divine promises.

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* Reflecting men must often perceive the labor and difficulty attending the calvinistic system, in order to reconcile it to reason and common sense, as well as to the attributes of justice and benevolence in the deity: and with how little satisfaction, every one will judge.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Mayhew's first publications—Discourse on the right of private judgment, and the right and wrong in morals and religion—Discourse on the anniversary of the death of Charles I.—On general election, in 1754—His style and manner of writing, and his sentiments on the Christian doctrines.

In 1749, within two years after his ordination, Mr. Mayhew published several sermons, 'On the difference between right and wrong, between truth and falsehood, and on the right of private judgment in religion;' founded on the following passage from one of the gospels—'Ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth: how is it ye do not discern this time? Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?' They were solid, argumentative discourses; illustrating his views of natural and revealed religion, and showing the natural and universal obligations of piety to God, and of justice and benevolence to man; that the doctrines and duties of Christianity are agreeable to the reason and common sense of mankind; and that the design of revelation is the same as that of reason and conscience, though more plain and clear on many points—which is, to make men devout, virtuous, and holy, and thus to exalt and bless them in a moral and spiritual view.

The object, in these discourses, was to show, that the essential doctrines of the gospel were level to the understanding of all; and that they recognized and were agreeable to the suggestions of natural religion; as well as to point out the difference between right and wrong, virtue and vice. Assuming this to be true, and as hardly needing labored proof—as it was self-evident, and agreeable to our natural perceptions—he insists that there is no substitute for personal virtue, or moral goodness; but that the characters of men must be virtuous or holy, that they may be approved of God, and qualified for future and spiritual happiness.*

There was not, perhaps, anything entirely new or peculiar in his statement of the great principles of ethics,† or of natural religion; or of their agreement with the doctrines of revelation; which, however, he considered as confirming the former, and as also teaching some truths not made known by human reason, as the divine propitiousness, and a future, immortal life. The discourses were commended for the striking illustrations given of these important doctrines and truths, and for the conclusions drawn from them in favor of free inquiry and of the right of private judgment on religious subjects, and for showing the impropriety and the injury to Christian truth and virtue, of all attempts to prevent examination, or the expression of one's opinions; and of all human authority to control or direct the exercise of reason in such inquiry. The common objections to such examination, and to the forming of one's own opinions, instead of implicitly adopting the systems of former times, were answered at length, and with much ability and ingenuity; in doing which, human creeds and decisions of ancient councils were rejected, as of no binding force, and as tending to check the progress of moral and religious truth.

These first principles and doctrines of natural reason, he asserted were agreeable to the common apprehensions of mankind, and never denied or doubted, except by a few visionary or skeptical men, who could bring no arguments to disprove or weaken them; and he fully detected and exposed such denial. The will of God, he contended, should be the rule of our conduct, whether made known by natural reason or supernatural revelation: and, that when we have learnt his will, by honest and faithful inquiry, we are obligated to conform to it, whether we perceive the immediate benefit, in all cases, or not. That by the law written on our hearts, or by our internal consciousness, after due examination and reflection, we are made sensible of the moral fitness of piety, virtue, righteousness, temperance, and benevolence; and that no argument or evidence was necessary to strengthen our conviction in their favor, nor of the sin and evil of their opposites. Still, that man, being a moral agent, might so pervert or corrupt his mind, or through wilful ignorance, as to endeavour to rid himself of these natural perceptions and convictions; or, at least, to weaken and obscure them. Yet that few, if any, are become so morally blind and depraved, as to have no sense of the difference between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, virtue and vice: because such a sense is in some measure inseparable from our rational nature, and cannot be extinguished, except with reason itself.

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* These discourses extended the fame of the author to Great Britain, as an able, discriminating writer, and a zealous advocate for free inquiry on religious subjects; such as no American had then enjoyed. The degree of D. D., conferred on him soon after by the university of Aberdeen, as before stated, was probably owing to these discourses.

† He had probably read Cudworth, Clarke, Butler and Hutcheson, and adopted their opinions, in a great measure, in opposition to Hobbes. Cudworth maintained, in opposition to the skeptical if not atheistical Hobbes, that the reasons or nature of good and evil were eternal and immutable—and he classed those with atheists, as to their theory, who held that even God might command what is contrary to moral rules—and that whatever he wills is for that reason just, because he orders it. The latter cause may be deemed an unnecessary, incautious expression—and serves to show the vagaries of some metaphysical writers. But it may be considered a strong expression, used against those who suppose virtue and vice mutable or merely conventional. Clarke agreed with Cudworth, in representing virtue and vice naturally and essentially different, and the foundation and obligations of morality eternal. But he also insisted that in deciding what was morally right or wrong, we should have reference to the will of God, so far as revealed.

In showing that men are naturally capable of discerning this moral difference, Dr. Mayhew is strong in his expressions, and happy in his illustrations. 'The multitude may do evil, and many may judge falsely; iniquity may be established by law; it may have power, and wealth, and policy, on its side; while truth and right may be opposed, or disregarded. But this cannot confound them, nor deprive reflecting men of a sense of the difference between them. Noah was left alone and derided, though a preacher of righteousness to the old world: and few adhered to our blessed Lord, while he was on the earth. At the present day, how few worship God in spirit and truth; and sincerely believe and understand what they profess! How few obey Christ from the heart, and according to the simplicity and purity of his gospel, compared to those who are immersed in gross ignorance, superstition, and all kinds of immorality, even among nominal Christians. The whole body of Christians is but a small company, compared to the rest of mankind. The catholics are far more numerous than protestants, and they have long ago voted us to be heretics. But no man in his senses will allow himself to be in error, because he cannot get as many hands held up in favor of his tenets, as another. Infallibility cannot be the result of a great number of fallibles, nor perfection be found in a large body of those who are imperfect. And yet the chief argument by which some endeavor to propagate and support their opinions, is that they are generally received in their country; and if they can but add, that they are such as their forefathers embraced, they reckon this a demonstration which no one can or dare resist.

'If we must be governed by *numbers*, in the choice of our religion, it is proper to be governed by the *greatest* number. And if so, we must be neither calvinists nor arminians; trinitarians, nor unitarians; churchmen, nor dissenters; quakers, nor anabaptists; papists, nor protestants; nor yet Jews nor Mahometans; but we must be heathens; for paganism is the most universal *orthodoxy* in our world. Many would shudder at the thought of an unfashionable vice, or an unpopular doctrine, who would readily embrace the same vice and the same doctrine, when unattended with the disadvantage of being contrary to the *mode*.

'The doctrine of our *inability* to distinguish truth from error, and right from wrong, has much the same effect in religion and in the conduct of life, with that of the total indifference of all things in their own nature; and it effectually precludes all inquiries concerning truth and virtue, and every other subject. Nor can any man take satisfaction in his own opinions and actions, as though they were true and right; or blame another for error in principle or practice, while he asserts there is equal evidence for the truth of all opinions, and for the propriety of all actions. And hence it appears, that they who carry their skepticism no farther than to question the abilities of men to discover truth and right, are chargeable with the same inconsistency as they who explode the whole doctrine of a real difference between truth and right, and their contraries. For why will they attempt to investigate truth, or why boast of *discovering* that men cannot discover truth? Why upbraid their opponents with ignorance? Why attempt to vindicate their own conduct in any case, under the idea that it is right? Why will they censure that of others, or resent things under the notion of injury? This has ever been their practice, which goes entirely on the supposition that truth and right are not only real in nature, but also that they may be distinguished from their opposites by all reflecting men.

'When it is said, however, that we are able even of ourselves to judge what is right, it is not intended to assert, that our intellectual faculties are so capacious as to render a supernatural revelation of no use or importance to us. Certainly, we cannot suppose this to be the intention of him who spoke the words of our text, since he was a prophet or teacher sent from God. If one may instruct another, much more may we suppose it possible for him who is perfect in knowledge to supply the defects of human reason, by supernatural communications of light and knowledge. When, and how far it is expedient for him to do this, he only knows. Yet, on the supposition of such a revelation, we must be supposed to be able to perceive the evidences of its being such. And it is the proper office of reason to determine, whether what is proposed to us, under the notion of a revelation from God, is attended with suitable illustrations, or not. So that, even in this case, we may judge what is right. If there be no rational evidence of its coming from God, no rational men can receive it as such. Indeed, what Christ blames the Jews for, was their not exercising their reason in this way. He had sufficiently proved his divine mission; but they did not discern the time, nor judge what was right, being under the influence of gross prejudice, and not of reason.

'It is also the proper office of reason to determine the meaning of particular parts of a revelation, after its divine authority in general is established and admitted. And the natural faculties of men qualify them for this, in the same manner that it qualifies them to interpret other writings. If God gives men a revelation, he gives it to them to be understood; and if he gives it to be understood by men, he must give it in human language, and accommodate it to the human capacity. Otherwise, a second revelation would be necessary to understand the first; and a third, to prove the second: and there would then be really no revelation at all.

'Nor is it meant to be asserted, that we are able to determine, with an equal degree of certainty, all points which we are capable, in some sense, of coming to a conclusion upon. Although truth does not admit of degrees, yet the evidence of it does. So that of various propositions, equally true in themselves, some may be known with greater certainty than others. Probable evidence is indeed all which can be had in some cases. Experience shows that such evidence is sufficient in secular affairs; and it may be sufficient in religious concerns also, in cases where absolute certainty cannot be had.

'If men are naturally endowed with faculties for distinguishing between truth and error, right and wrong, it follows that the doctrine of a total ignorance and incapacity to judge of moral and religious truths, brought upon mankind by the disobedience of our first parents, is without foundation. How much brighter and more vigorous the intellectual faculties were in Adam, six thousand years ago, I leave others to determine or to conjecture. It is sufficient for my purpose to consider mankind as they are at present, without inquiring what powers they had before they had a being. And it appears that now they have a natural power to judge what is true and right, with the qualifications and restrictions before mentioned.

'Still, it is the manner of vain enthusiasts, when the absurdity of their doctrine is laid open, to fall a railing, telling their opposers that they are in a carnal state, blind, and unable to judge; but that themselves are spiritually illuminated. Thus they endeavor to palm the grossest absurdities on their neighbors, under a notion of their being divine and holy mysteries; so that these enlightened idiots make inspiration, and the spirit of truth and wisdom, the vehicle of nonsense and contradictions. Whatever is reasonable, is with them carnal; and nothing is worthy of belief, but what is impossible and absurd in the eye of human reason.

'We see that our blessed Savior did not suppose the minds of men had suffered any such total eclipse, or were wholly overspread with darkness. He addressed the number of unbelieving Jews, as if they had proper faculties for judging of religion, and blames them for not exerting them: —'why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?' 'The candle of the Lord,' which was at first lighted up in man, when 'the inspiration of the Almighty gave him understanding,' was not extinguished by the original disobedience, but has kept burning ever since; nor will it be put out till the sun itself shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light.

'Let us retain a just sense of the dignity of our nature in this respect. It is by our reason that we are exalted above the beasts of the field. It is by this that we are allied to angels, and to all the glorious intelligences of the heavenly world. Yea, by this we resemble God himself. It is on account of our intelligence, in part, that we are said to be created in the image of God. So that, however weak our intellectual faculties are, yet to speak reproachfully of reason in general, is little less than blasphemy against God. Let us therefore, instead of contemning this inestimable gift, in which consists the glory of our nature, employ it to the end for which it was designed, in the service of the Father of our spirits.

'We have had occasion to speak of the imperfection as well as strength of human reason. He who is not sensible of this imperfection, is so far from being the wisest of men, that he knoweth *nothing yet as he ought to know it*. 'Professing himself wise, he becomes a fool'—the knowledge of ourselves being the first and last point, the *alpha* and *omega* of human wisdom. The knowledge of our own ignorance is the most important and beneficial of all sciences. This will naturally lead us to humility; and excite us to improve, with gratitude and diligence, all the means of knowledge which we are favored with; especially that revelation which God has given us by his son. While we are in this imperfect state, we should not think strange that our understandings are baffled, or that many things remain mysterious and unaccountable to us, both in the natural and moral government of God.'

He then proceeds to explain the right, and to urge the duty, of private judgment; and says, 'that a man should honestly embrace the truth, or what appears to be the truth, after diligent and faithful inquiry, without seeking to evade it, or to stifle the convictions of his own mind. To inquire into evidence, is to no purpose, unless we follow it wherever it leads, and cheerfully receive the truth wherever it is to be found; whatever notions it may contradict, to whatever censures it may expose us. It is an idle and inconsistent thing to examine, if we are determined beforehand to retain our former sentiments; to believe just as one's forefathers did, or as any particular body of men now do. A man does not inquire after truth and right as he ought, unless he determines to have no superstitious veneration for great names; but to yield himself to evidence wherever it appears, and how much soever it might be for his interest and reputation to embrace different opinions.'

In speaking of the duty of free inquiry and of embracing moral and religious truths when discovered, Dr. Mayhew insisted, 'that every one was bound to examine with diligence and fidelity what is the truth, and to profess and adhere to it, through evil report, or good report. That, as every one is personally responsible, in some measure, for his belief as well as for his conduct, he is obligated to learn the reasons and arguments of the faith, which he adopts or professes. For every individual has an interest of his own depending: and they who arrogate the right to judge for us, do not pretend to feel, or hardly believe for us.'

Such inquiries as the following, he says, become every reasonable and accountable being: 'What is my chief good? Where is the road which will certainly lead me to happiness? Where shall I find this pearl of great price? In what mountain shall I dig for it? In what ocean shall I dive for it? Shall I find it upon the seas, or upon the dry land?—Is there a being who created and governs the world? And if there be a God, what is his character? Is he wise and good, as well as powerful? Does my happiness depend on obeying him, and in conforming to his will? If it do, what is his will? What are his laws? What kind of government am I under? In what way may I obtain the approbation of the universal parent, whose favor is better than life?

'There are many opinions in the world, and how shall I learn which are true? The people of *India* have one opinion, and those in *Turkey* another; and Christians, a third. There are even some *fools*, who say in their hearts *there is no God;* and not only in their hearts, but with their lips also. Shall we submit to atheists, or to theists? And if we embrace the latter, which sect of deists shall we follow? Those who deny, or those who believe in a revelation? Jews, Mahometans, or Christians? It is not *reasonable* to follow one, in preference to the others, *without a reason.*

'But suppose we are convinced of the truth of Christianity—do not Christians differ very widely? Are they not divided into many sects, the most of which maintain, that not only truth, but *salvation*, is confined to their particular creed? Do they not deal out their anathemas, alternately, with a liberal hand?

'Now, amidst these differences, what is the part of a reasonable man, but to inquire, and exercise his intellectual faculties, and thus to judge even of himself what is right? What system of doctrine, what mode of worship, is most agreeable to scripture and reason? What sect of Christians shall I unite with? Some will say, 'a man must join himself to the true, primitive, *catholic* church?' But what church is that? All churches lay claim to the title; and the question to be decided is, which of these has the best claims? And this cannot be decided without much previous inquiry. Some, indeed, will say, that there is a living, *infallible* guide on earth, to whom we may repair. But where is he? Many deny that there is such an unerring guide and infallible umpire. And even they who admit that there is a sovereign judge in all religious matters, are not fully agreed who he is: nor whether infallibility be in one person, or more. The heads of all sects usually decide disputable points, with as much assurance and lordliness as it would become infallibility itself to do, though they do not pretend to be exempt from all possibility of erring. The king of Great Britain is the supreme head of the church of England, as by law established; and that church claims power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to have authority in controversies of faith.

'His *Holiness* at Rome thinks this a bold infringement on his sacred prerogative and universal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. Whose claim, then, is to be admitted? How shall we act a rational and intelligent part, without judging of ourselves which is right?—or, whether *either* of them is so? Indeed, there is no doubt but his *Holiness* is really the supreme head of the church of Rome: and the king or queen of England is doubtless the supreme head of the church established by law, (within about two centuries,) in that kingdom. Still, it may, perhaps, admit of some dispute, whether Jesus Christ is not the supreme head of his own church: and whether there are not three *different* churches, as they have each a different supreme head. It is of some importance to us, to be settled as to these points; and they are such as cannot be determined without some examination, though perhaps a *very little* may suffice to convince the impartial and candid.

'Thus it appears that a regard to our own interest ought to put us on examining and judging for ourselves, in religious concerns. And the same thing might be argued from the faculty of reason itself, which is common to all men. Each of our bodily organs has an apparent *final cause.* Our eyes are for seeing; our ears for hearing; our hands for handling; our feet for walking. Nor is it less apparent that our understanding was given us to be employed in the search of truth, and learning what it is. Truth is the *natural* object of reason: an obligation, therefore, to inquire after truth, and to judge what is right, may be found within us, in our very frame and constitution. This obligation is as universal as reason itself; for every one who is endowed with this faculty, is obliged to exercise it in the pursuit of knowledge, especially of moral and religious knowledge.

'Reason, then, is no enemy to free inquiry and private judgment, in religious matters; nor is the *Christian* religion an enemy to such inquiry, but rather enjoins it as a duty. Our anointed Lord, the author and finisher of our faith,* constantly appealed to the *senses* and the *reason* of mankind, as the proper judges of his miracles, divine commission, and doctrine. He did not demand of men an implicit, blind belief in himself, without offering matter of conviction to their understandings; but put them on examining, in a rational way, whether he were authorized by heaven, or were an impostor; and whether his doctrines were of God, or whether he spake of himself. He reasons with the Jews, (in my text,) and blames them for their blind attachment to their spiritual guides, and for not judging for themselves on religious subjects. In arguing with the Jews, he appealed to their ancient prophecies, and to the miracles he wrought, to convince them that he was the Messiah. This is evident from almost every page of the evangelical history, despite the disingenuous author of 'Christianity not founded on argument;' who took advantage of what some *weak* Christians have advanced, concerning the nature and grounds of faith.

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* Who was the *leading* teacher and the entire revealer of the doctrines of our faith.

'I might quote many passages from the gospels to show that our Lord reasoned with the people, or offered evidence to convince their understandings: but I must content myself with giving a few. 'If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another who beareth witness of me. Ye sent to John, and he bare witness to the truth. But I have greater witness than that of John; for the *works* which the Father hath given me to accomplish, even the *works* which I do, bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me. Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and even they testify of me.' There cannot be a more explicit appeal than this to the reason and understanding of men, or a more direct invitation given to examine and judge for themselves. And as our Lord performed his *miracles*, with a design to beget in those who beheld them a *rational* belief, so the evangelists committed these things to writing, that they might have the same effect on those who were not eye-witnesses of them. 'These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the true Messiah, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life in his name.'

'The apostles also encouraged inquiry and examination, as is natural for all *honest* and undesigning men to do. It is, indeed, the interest of *some* men to discourage it, and to keep people muffled up in darkness and ignorance, that they may submit to their own dictates with more readiness. Their *craft* is in danger of being detected, and their doctrine of being exploded, as soon as people have so much *presumption* as to open their eyes. Free inquiry bodes ill to the design which they are engaged in; for they are sensible it will not be safe for themselves to be *knaves* any longer than others are *fools.* But he who has nothing in view but the interests of truth and virtue, desires nothing more than that others would examine freely and impartially. Now the apostles knew the goodness of their cause; and following the example of their divine Master, made it their practice to encourage freedom of thought; never intimating, as many of their *pretended* successors have done, that this would be *dangerous to the souls of men.*

'It appears, I think, from these remarks, that both reason and scripture are opposed to the claims of those arrogant men, who 'love to *lord it over* God's heritage,' and had rather 'have *dominion* over our faith, than be *helpers* of our joy:' and that it is the duty of Christians to assert their right of private judgment, in religious concerns, in opposition to all who are usurping authority over them. It appears, also, that they who, in any manner, discourage freedom of inquiry and judgment in religion, encroach on the *natural* rights of mankind; that they set up their own authority in opposition to that of God himself; and are enemies to truth, and to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

'They, then, are justly chargeable with a heinous crime, who punish dissenters and non-suscribers of creeds, by fines and imprisonments; or by depriving them of those civil privileges and honors, which, as good subjects and friends to the state, they might justly expect. It is well known in what church this *inhuman* practice has been carried to a prodigious length, and in which it is not yet wholly laid aside. It is well that not Jesus Christ, but another person, is said to be the *supreme head* of that church. For it would be absurd to suppose, that he who said 'his kingdom was not of this world,' should allow of any such practice among the members of the church of which he is the Head.

'Another practice, akin to that mentioned above, and which has a tendency to hinder men from judging for themselves, is that of *creed making*; setting up human tests of orthodoxy, instead of the infallible word of God; and making other terms of christian communion than those explicitly pointed out in the gospel. For any man, or any body of men whatever, to do this, is plainly to arrogate to themselves the right of judging for their neighbors, and to deter people, as far as they are able, from seeing with their own eyes, and judging for themselves what is right. This practice may not indeed be so criminal as murdering and persecuting men for their religious sentiments; for most men had rather be the objects of a thousand anathemas than have their life taken from them. But still, if those *faith-makers* I am speaking of, are so compassionate as only to *give their brethren to the devil*, for not submitting to their doctrines and decrees, even this has some tendency to intimidate them; especially such as are of a weak and pusillanimous spirit. For when a creed is begun, or eked out with several reverend ecclesiastical curses; and when it is affirmed, that unless a man *believe faithfully* every article contained in it, he shall without doubt *perish everlastingly*; it cannot be supposed that the generality of people should have the courage to *hesitate* concerning the *truth* of it, although it may be an affront to common sense, a medley of nonsense and contradiction. Nor are there wanting innumerable instances of persons, who have, in this way, been first *frightened out of their senses*, and then into the belief of the grossest absurdities; and paying a sacred regard to them, under a notion of their being orthodox, soul-saving and divine mysteries, and such as are not to be examined by reason, but to be believed and adored without it.

'It is, indeed, pretended that keeping men from using their own reason and judgment, is done with a pious and godly design—to reclaim those who are unsound in the faith, and to preserve the christian verity in its primitive purity. But the dictatorial, unchristian spirit, which these holy murderers and faith-imposers have exhibited, leaves little room to think they were actuated by a real concern for the interests of Christianity, or the salvation of men's souls. But whatever are their views, their practices are most unjustifiable; an infringement on the rights of conscience, which ought to be held sacred: they have a tendency to prevent all improvements in religious knowledge, and to entail ignorance, error, and superstition upon future generations.

'What improvements can we suppose would have been made in the several arts and sciences, comparable to the present, had the study of them been incumbered with such restraints and hindrances? Let us suppose, for example, that some great prince, a few centuries ago, with the philosophers of the age, had interposed with their authority in the *sciences*—that an oath of supremacy to the king or queen had been imposed, on such terms as these: that the king or queen was the supreme head of the society (or church) of philosophers, vested with power to exercise all manner of discipline; and other learned men no jurisdiction philosophical, but under the king or queen, who had full power to determine all causes, philosophic and literary, and to reform and correct all philosophical errors and abuses whatever, within the realm. Let us suppose further, that philosophical creeds and articles of faith had been composed and authoritatively issued out, with certain minatory and damnatory clauses, and that were registered with other laws of the land. Let it be also supposed, that philosophical courts had been erected, where heretics in philosophy, and all non-subscribers to the philosophy by law established, were to be arraigned, harassed, fined, and whipt, hanged or burnt. If such things as these had been done centuries ago, must we not suppose that they would have been absurd; that they would have damped the greatest and most enterprising geniuses; and thus have been the means of keeping the world in ignorance and error? Would it not have prevented the valuable improvements and discoveries in physical knowledge, with which the world is now blest? Had such measures been taken seasonably, might it not have been heresy still to think this earth a globe?—to deny that the sun revolves about us every twenty-four hours?—or question the equality of the sun and moon? And might not the orthodox philosophy of this day, have been that of the *great ox and tortoise*, &c.? In short, we cannot think of supporting and propagating the sciences, by dint of authority, without smiling. And it is equally ridiculous to attempt to propagate religious knowledge, and the doctrines of the gospel, by human authority. Every one who wishes, may easily see how attempts of this nature have issued, and what must be the effects of them—ignorance and hypocrisy. Error, as well as iniquity, may be established by a law: and when it is so, a man must either subscribe to it, contrary to his sentiments, or seriously embrace it for truth. A sad dilemma! when a man is thus forced to be a knave or a fool! Mankind seem to be quite indolent enough, and backward enough to examine into moral and religious subjects, without those unnatural restraints, which are put on them, by setting up authority in matters of faith.

'There are, indeed, some foolish and conceited men, who take pleasure in being singular in their opinions; and who never suppose they think freely enough, till they have run wild and mad, and have rejected every thing which others have believed before them. But such instances are not frequent. Men are too prone, generally, to follow the multitude, to embrace implicitly the tenets of their spiritual guides, their ancestors, their good mothers and nurses; and to fall in with the opinions of the rich and powerful, which is the road to wealth and preferment. And there is much more need of encouraging freedom of thought, and an inquisitive turn of mind, by gratuities, than there is of keeping people in the old beaten track, by the terror of penal laws, gibbets, inquisitions, *spiritual* courts, and *carnal* curses.

'Whatever may be pretended, such compulsive measures are not those by which the truth, as it is in Jesus, was first propagated and defended; neither are they of any service to the cause of truth and religion, at present. A pecuniary mulct may impoverish a man in this world; but it cannot make him *rich in faith, and an heir of the kingdom.* The rack may torture his limbs; but it cannot draw out the sting from a guilty conscience. A dark and filthy dungeon may throw us into a mortal disease; but it cannot bring light and health to our minds, nor make our souls prosper. A burning faggot may set our bodies in a blaze; but it has no tendency to illuminate our understandings. The attempt to dragoon men into orthodox Christians, is as unnatural and fruitless, as to attempt to dragoon them into poets, physicians and mathematicians. A blow with a club may fracture a man's skull; but I suppose he will not think and reason more clearly for it; though he may perhaps, believe the more orthodoxly, according to the opinions of some men. And on this account, it must be confessed, that they who make use of such methods to propagate their sentiments, act very prudently; for their doctrines are generally such, as are more readily embraced by a man after his brains are knocked out, than while he continues in his senses, and to be of a sound mind.'*

After showing that there was an evident and essential difference between right and wrong, truth and falsehood; that men were endowed with faculties to perceive this difference; and that it was our right and duty to exercise our intellectual powers in searching for the truth, especially in religious concerns, and openly to express the opinions formed on such inquiry, in most cases; Dr. Mayhew proceeded to notice and to reply to objections, which sometimes were made against such personal and independent examination. The first objection noticed, was, that 'liberty in religious matters ought not to be allowed, but that the true church is bound to correct dissenters and schismatics, and whatever it may judge to be unsound in the faith.'

To this he replied—'If the *true church* ought to punish such as it considers erroneous, heretical or schismatical, then a war must immediately commence in christendom, and continue till all are destroyed but one party. For each sect thinks itself right, and that all others are more or less tinctured with heresy. Such must be the consequence of this maxim, that the right of using violence and force is the prerogative of the true church; which is sufficient to convince any reasonable man that the maxim is false. Besides, whence comes this doctrine, that true orthodox Christians have a right to persecute heretics and unbelievers? (that is, to be more wicked and immoral than heretics and unbelievers.) The scripture, indeed, and experience often, teaches us that those who will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution; but not that they must persecute others.

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* It was said by Rev. James Foster, an eminent clergyman in England, of the last century, and an able apologist for Christianity, against the deistical writers of his time, 'that where mystery begins, religion ends.' The assertion may need some qualification; and it should be remembered, that it was made when speaking of those who considered religion a mystery, who discarded reason in their creed, and whose opinions were contradictory to the plain dictates of the human understanding.

It was lately observed by a theological professor, in a seminary considered entirely orthodox, 'that he could not assent to a certain dogma, stated to him by another learned professor, because it was an *unintelligible* proposition; and he could not assent to that he did not understand, and could have no possible idea of.'

'The apostles never attempted to use force; but, on the contrary, declared that the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, &c. Faith and repentance are the work of reason and of the spirit of God; and cannot be wrought in a man by a cudgel, a sword, or a gallows. And were this in itself possible, how could twelve unarmed apostles, who were directed to take only a staff with them, convert the world by force of arms?

'But another objection is made; and that is, if men are allowed to think and judge for themselves, many will probably fall into pernicious errors; that a door is thus opened for errors to enter into the church; and men will have liberty to trample on all creeds and confessions of faith; to depart from the doctrines of their pious forefathers, and to despise their spiritual guides; and that the end will be the overthrow of all religion. To this objection, I reply, that it does not follow, because men have liberty to judge for themselves, and to choose their own religion, that they are at liberty to judge wrong, and to reject the true religion, let it be what it will. If they are obliged to judge and choose for themselves, at all, they are obliged to judge truly and justly, and to reject only what is wrong. The right of private judgment does not imply that it is indifferent whether a man judges truly, or not; any more than a man's right to dispose of his own property, implies that he may as innocently squander it away in rioting and drunkenness, as pay his debts with it, or appropriate it to charitable uses. As a man has no right to do what is wrong with his own substance, so neither has he a right to judge wrong with his own understanding. He is under a moral obligation to reject error, and to embrace the truth, as far as he is able to detect the former, and to discern the latter.

'As the right of private judgment does not leave men at liberty to judge wrong, and to embrace a false religion, so neither has the exercise of the right any tendency to mislead men, as is pretended: but the tendency is directly the contrary way. Free examination, weighing arguments for and against with care and impartiality, is the way to find truth. Who supposes that free inquiry into philosophical subjects has any tendency to lead men into a wrong idea of the natural world? No one was ever so infatuated as to assert this. And it is as improbable that free inquiry into religious subjects should lead us into error concerning the moral world. One would think that a man who had received his religious opinions, upon mature and deliberate consideration, and so had in his own mind rational arguments to support them, could not have the least apprehension of their suffering any thing by their being thoroughly scanned and examined to the bottom. Error and imposture fly from the light, like the owl and the bat; but truth and honesty, like the noble eagle, face to the sun.

'The cause of error and superstition may suffer by a critical examination—its security is to lurk in the dark. But true religion flourishes the more, the more people exercise their right of private judgment. This is apparent: and therefore it is not uncharitable to suppose, that all who are backward to have their doctrine called in question, and to stand a fair trial at the bar of impartial reason, have, at least, some secret suspicion that they will not abide the test, and come forth as gold when it is tried, but be found no better than dross. We pay a poor compliment to our religion, when we cry out, that it is in danger, if men are left to the free exercise of their reason, in judging of it. A man, who is conscious his cause is good, is willing it should be tried by the most severe and critical examination. But he who either knows or suspects that he has a bad or *dirty* one, had much rather that people would spare themselves the trouble of searching into its merits, and take his own word for the goodness of it.

'As to the lamentable havoc, which the objection supposes will be made amongst our creeds and formularies, if the doctrine of free inquiry should prevail; this is doubtless a very natural consequence; for this would probably prove fatal, at least to *many* articles contained in them. For it is plain many of them are stuffed with the most ridiculous jargon; and are as contrary to scripture, as they are to common sense. But this, instead of being an objection against free inquiry, is a strong argument for it. If these creeds and formularies are true, and agreeable to reason and revelation, the more thoroughly they are examined, the better; for their truth will thus more fully appear. And if they are false, it is still best they should be examined, in order to their being exposed. It is no matter how *old* or how *new* they are. Truth does not die with age, and then revive again, as is pretended of the *Phœnix:* 'it flourishes in immortal youth.' Error may indeed become venerable and *gray-headed* with length of time: but a falsehood, of a thousand years standing, remains as much a falsehood as ever, although it may have been consecrated by the church, and transmitted through ages in a creed. Whatever truths it may have had to keep it company, and however it may have been preserved amidst the storms which have beat upon the church, it is only like one of Noah's unclean beasts, preserved in the ark among those of a pure and more useful nature.

'There is nothing more foolish and superstitious than a veneration for *ancient creeds* and doctrines, as such; and nothing is more unworthy a reasonable creature, than to value principles by their age, as some men do their *wines.* Yet this is as common, as it is ridiculous. With many people, 'antiquity! antiquity! antiquity!' is the cry. And 'who will be so *hardy* as to dispute the truth of what was believed a thousand years ago?' Just as if what was false formerly, were not so still; but might be ripened and refined by age into a *doctrine of grace.* Most things are, indeed, changed by time. Time makes the child a man: time makes the ignorant wise: time often turns a friend into a foe, and a foe into a friend: the fashion of the world passeth away by time: and time shall change the whole face of nature. But truth, like the Father of Lights, is without variableness, or shadow of turning.

'It is also pretended, that freedom of inquiry will naturally bring our spiritual *guides* into disrespect, and weaken their authority. To this I reply, that it cannot possibly be of any disadvantage to the sober and rational part of the clergy; but has a tendency to make them more esteemed. But, as to the vain and proud, the ignorant and assuming, the enthusiastic and superstitious, it doubtless has a natural tendency to bring them into contempt. And the sooner, the better; that so they may not have so much power to do mischief. These are the persons who are generally the most averse to people's seeing and judging for themselves. And the reason why they are so, is too apparent to need mentioning.

'And even if the cause of truth and religion might suffer in some respects, or for a time, by allowing all to exercise the right of private judgment, yet this is no just reason for denying them such a liberty. This right is given them by God and nature, and by the gospel of Christ. And no one has a right to deprive another of it, under a notion that he will make an ill use of it, and fall into erroneous opinions. We might as well pick our neighbor's pocket, for fear he would spend his money in debauchery, as take from him his right of judging for himself, and choosing his religion, from a fear he should judge amiss, or abuse his liberty.

'But there is another objection, similar to the last, which is urged with a great deal of confidence, though with little reason. It is pretended, that if all are at liberty to choose their own religion, we shall have numerous sects, and thus the peace and unity of the church will be destroyed. It therefore is necessary for the governors of the church to enjoin the belief of certain articles of faith, and the observance of certain forms and rites of worship. In relation to this objection, I would observe, that if any rule of faith, of worship and discipline, besides that which our Lord and his apostles have left us, be necessary, in order to the peace and good government of the church, then the church had no peace, and was not well governed, during the apostolic age. For Christians had then no common rule of faith, worship, and discipline, besides that which they received from Christ himself, or his apostles; which rule is transmitted to us in the writings of the New Testament, and is sufficient *now* for the regulation of the church, if it was *then;* and that it was sufficient then, will not be denied.

'If any further regulations had been necessary to preserve the peace and unity of the church, it is strange that neither Christ, 'who loved the church and gave himself for it,' nor the apostles, who lived and died in the service of the church, should have taken more care to provide for its peace and prosperity. Can we suppose that they did their work to the halves, and left it to others to finish and perfect it?

'Who gave the governors of the church any authority in matters of faith, worship and discipline? Do we find one word of it in scripture? No. And the church of Christ, as such, has no legislator besides Christ himself, 'whom the Father hath made head over all, as to the church.' Whatever church, then, has rulers with power of legislation, so far it is not the church of Christ. For our Lord equally forbids his disciples to assume authority over their brethren, as well as to submit to any who arrogate to themselves any authority in matters of religion.

Nor has any order or body of men, authority to enjoin particular articles of faith; nor the use of any modes of worship, not expressly pointed out in the scriptures; nor has the enjoining of such articles a tendency to preserve the peace and harmony of the church, but directly the contrary. The disorder and confusion, which have hitherto been in the church, have not arisen from Christians exercising their own judgment, and worshipping God according to their consciences, (though in a measure somewhat different from others;) but from the pride and insolence of those who deny their brethren this liberty, and who undertake to decide authoritatively for others, what they shall believe, and how they shall worship. Were it not for the turbulent, domineering spirit of some ecclesiastics, who desire more than Christ saw fit to entrust them with, there would be but little of that disputing and discord which have hitherto disturbed the peace of the church.

'The divisions and contentions which have arisen, and still subsist in the christian church, are chiefly owing to the unchristian temper and conduct of those who could not content themselves with *scripture orthodoxy*, with the simple and spiritual worship of the Father, enjoined by our Savior, and with the platform of church discipline contained in the New Testament: but must go to coining *new* articles of faith, *new* modes and rites of worship, making *new* canons, and presenting *new* rules for the government of the church. It is about these comparatively novel inventions, that the governors and *fathers* of the church, as some call them, have generally been more zealous, than about a holy and godly life. They have usually given pretty good quarter to the vicious and debauched, provided their own authority was acknowledged, and their 'decent' (or rather *ridiculous*) forms and ceremonies were strictly regarded: while the most peaceable, sober, and virtuous persons, who could not submit to their tyrannical yoke, have been treated with contempt and inhumanity, as being heretics, and schismatics, and all this, perhaps, only for not observing such rites as have no more relation to Christianity than telling beads, or cracking the fingers; and for not believing such doctrines as have no more to do with the gospel of Christ, than the idle stories of Bell and the Dragon, or Tobit and his Dog.

'Here is the true source of religious discord. Had ecclesiastics, instead of lording it over God's heritage, and setting up their own authority in the room of Christ's, put on the meekness and gentleness of Christ, and set a better example to the flock; had they endeavored to remove all stumbling blocks out of the way, instead of spending their zeal upon *indifferent* things, as necessary terms of Christian communion; had they taught and practised the weightier matters of the law, instead of spending their zeal upon trifles; had they taught mutual forbearance and charity, instead of fomenting a furious party spirit, and exciting ignorant bigots to rail at sober, peaceable Christians—had they done thus, the peace and harmony of the church might have been preserved, without creeds and formularies, or an exact uniformity in faith and worship.

'Another objection to the right of private judgment, is, that it is inconsistent with a standing ministry in the christian church, appointed by Christ, to instruct the people in religious matters; and therefore, that the laity must go to their spiritual guides, and receive all their instructions with humility and reverence, without disputing or doubting any thing delivered by them in the name of the Lord. As to this objection, I answer, that allowing there is in the christian church, a set of men whose office it is, with authority and by divine right, to teach, still people must judge for themselves who these men are. Most public teachers of religion pretend to a divine right to be so. But they do not all teach the same doctrines. How then shall we know whom to choose for our spiritual instructors, without examining into and judging upon the claims of those who demand our attention, and the direction of our understanding and consciences?

'But, supposing we have found who the persons are, to whom this authority is given, it does not follow that they are to be implicitly believed in every thing they say and teach. No man is to be implicitly believed, unless he is infallible; but infallibility is not necessarily connected with a divine right to teach. If it should be allowed, that kings reign by divine right, in the sense pleaded for by the advocates of *passive obedience* and *nonresistance*, still it is possible that they may make an ill use of their power; command things forbidden by God, and forbid what he has commanded. In either of these cases, it will be allowed that they have no title to the *active* obedience of their subjects. So, he who has a divine right to instruct others in religion, may speak false things, either ignorantly or with design. And if he does so, no one will be so extravagant as to say, that he ought to be believed. God has given him a right to teach; but it is only to teach what is true. If, therefore, 'he teaches for doctrines the commandments of men,' and *lies* for the gospel of Christ, he exceeds his commission, and has no more right to demand an assent, than any other liar, or deceiver, who is *unconsecrated*. So that, let us carry our idea of the authority of christian teachers ever so high, yet if we stop short of infallibility, we are obliged to examine all they say, and either receive or reject it, as evidence of its truth does, or does not appear. Even the apostles themselves, who were divinely authorized teachers, in a much higher sense than any set of men can pretend to be at this day, never pretended to such a right of dictating to others what they should believe and do, as interfered with the right of private judgment. Christian teachers, in later ages, are or ought to be only commentators upon the scriptures, and we cannot suppose that their commentaries have greater weight and authority than the text itself.

'As the business of an instructor is not to enforce certain dogmas, purely by dint of authority, so the business of a learner is not to receive for truth whatever his instructor in science advances as such, but to exercise his own intellectual powers, and to enter into the reasons and grounds of what is taught, and to receive nothing without evidence. No one imagines that a person's exercising his own understanding in this manner, is inconsistent with the notion of his having somebody to lead and instruct him in any branch of natural knowledge. And the case is much the same in morals and religion. That a man is an authorized instructor in religion, is not inconsistent with the right of private judgment in others. If, indeed, they reject the truth, when it is sufficiently proved, they do it at their peril, and that by whomsoever it is offered. But still every one is left at as much liberty to examine and judge for themselves, as if there were no public teachers at all.

'I proceed to notice another objection, and it is this—'that, when articles of faith receive the royal sanction, and a particular form of religion is established by law, we are bound to dismiss all scruples of conscience, and to submit to the religion of the state; and that the apostle tells us the powers that be are ordained of God, and that whoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.' But are Christians bound in conscience to believe and conform to that religion, whatever it may be, which is established by law, in the countries where they respectively live? This is a plain question; and they either are, or are not so obliged.

There is no medium. If they are not so obliged, but only when they apprehend the established religion is agreeable to the word of God, this implies a right of private judgment, and gives up the point in question. But, if they are bound in conscience to conform in the manner before expressed, it follows, that he who lives in Scotland, is bound in conscience to be a presbyterian; he who lives in England, to be an episcopalian; he who lives in France, Italy or Spain, to be a Roman Catholic: he who lives in Turkey, to be a Mahometan; and he who lives in a heathen, idolatrous country, to be a pagan and a worshipper of idols: and thus one must be a polytheist and idolator, in order to obey the *gospel* concerning submission to the powers that be. And in order to know the true religion, we must examine the law-books of the country where we reside or travel through.

'It is to be hoped, however, that there are many who do not thus trifle with their maker, in this manner; but think it of importance to know the will of God, and to obey it conscientiously, whatever may be the religion by law established. And is it not possible for the commands of the civil magistrate to clash with the laws of God? No one, probably, will deny this. Whose authority, then, is to be regarded; that of the prince, or that of the Governor of the universe, the King of kings, and Lord of lords? Will any one say, it is not our business, as men, and especially as Christians, to judge whether the injunctions of the civil magistrate may be complied with, consistently with our allegiance and loyalty to the Supreme Majesty of heaven and earth? And if they cannot, will any one make it a serious question, whether it is better to serve God or man?

'But I would humbly inquire, how any civil magistrate came by any authority at all in religious matters; and who gave him this authority? Has the supreme magistrate, as such, a right to make a religion for his subjects? No: for then a heathen magistrate would have a right to enjoin idolatry and polytheism, and to punish all Christians within his power, if they did not conform. Does the gospel of Christ give the *christian* magistrate authority in matters of faith and worship? No: it says not a word about any such thing.

'It is also evident, beyond all dispute, that the apostle, in requiring obedience to the civil magistrate, had no thought of enjoining obedience to him in *religious* concerns. For all the supreme magistrates then in the world were pagans; and idolatry was the religion and worship by law established. And certainly we cannot suppose that the apostles would enjoin it as a *christian* duty, to embrace and conform to the established religion, when that was directly opposite to Christianity. To have threatened damnation to those who disobeyed in this case, would have been to threaten damnation to themselves, and to denounce an anathema against all the Christians in the world, and even against Christ himself. For these were all dissenters from the established religion; and thousands suffered martyrdom for refusing to comply with the religion of the state—for asserting that right of private judgment, which I am endeavoring to defend.

'According to the apostle, the magistrate is ordained of God for *a terror to evil doers;* and his office is to preserve the liberties and the natural rights of the people; one of the most important of which is that of private judgment, and the full enjoyment of a man's own religion—provided he is a peaceable subject, and a good member of society. These and such as these are the ends for which, according to scripture, the magistrate is ordained of God; and not to make a religion for his subjects. As the Jews said to Pilate, 'we have no king but Cæsar,' so Christians, as such, may say, 'we have no king but Christ.' And they are *traitors* to him, their lawful sovereign, if they swear allegiance to any other, as lord of their faith, and the director of their religious conduct. And, indeed, the very mention of *articles of faith* established by *law,* is as great a solecism as mathematics established by law, and deserves a worse name than I choose here to give it.

'In thus briefly and plainly replying to the objections often urged against freedom of thought and the rights of conscience, in religious concerns, I have not aimed at provoking any sect of Christians, nor at pleasing any; but have spoken my own sentiments, with the honest simplicity which, I think, becomes a Christian, and with such freedom as, I apprehend, is agreeable to the cause I have attempted to defend—the cause of religious liberty—that liberty which God and the gospel of his Son have granted to us—that liberty, for the sake of which our worthy ancestors forsook their native land, where they had a goodly heritage, and sought a safe retreat in this western world, a wilderness, inhabited by savage beasts and more savage men; though both were *less* savage than some of the episcopal, bloodthirsty tyrants, from whose rage they fled.'

In his remarks, by way of application of the subject, he says—'Let us all stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made us free, and not suffer ourselves to be entangled with *any* yoke of bondage. If we have submitted to the yoke *hitherto,* and ingloriously acquiesced in any human impositions in religious matters, it is better to throw off the yoke, even now, than to let it gall us all our life-time. It is not yet too late to assert our liberty, and free ourselves of an ignominious slavery to the dictates of men. Let us endeavor to find the truth, and after we are settled in our judgment as to any religious doctrine, to adhere to it with constancy of mind, till convinced of our error in a rational way. Let us not regard the frowns and censures of those vain-conceited men, who set themselves up for the oracles of truth and the standard of orthodoxy, and then call their neighbors hard names. No man, whatever, whether of a civil or *sacred* character, has any authority to control us, except by the gentle methods of argument and persuasion. To Christ alone, the supreme and *only head of the church,* and the final judge of mankind, are we accountable for not believing his doctrines, and obeying his commands.

'Did I say, we have a *right* to judge and act for ourselves? It is our solemn *duty* to do it. We cannot relinquish the right, nor neglect to use it, without being highly culpable. We may dispose of our temporal substance, if we please; but God, and reason, and the gospel of Christ enjoin it upon us, as a duty, to maintain the right of private judgment, and to worship God according to our consciences, as much as they enjoin it on us to give alms to the poor; to love God and our neighbor, and to practice all righteousness. They are all duties, and not simply rights; duties founded in the reason of things; duties equally commanded by the same God; duties equally enjoined by the same Lord; duties equally required in the same gospel. And the neglect of the duty of private judgment, may be attended by worse consequences to ourselves and fellow men, than the neglect of any other. For he who does not examine for himself what is right and true, acts entirely in the dark, and may run into the most irregular and destructive practices which can be conceived of, just as his weak or wicked guides are pleased to prompt him. He is fit only for a tool to the devil and his emissaries; and may flatter himself that he is doing God service, when he is imbruing his hands in the blood of the innocent, and persecuting the true church of Christ.

'While we assert our own liberty and our christian rights, let us be consistent and uniform, and not attempt to encroach on the rights of others. They have the same right to judge, and to choose their own religion, with ourselves. For nothing is more incongruous than for an advocate of liberty to tyrannize over his neighbors. Yet we have *some* ignorant, railing zealots among us, fired with a furious party spirit, who are not satisfied that they enjoy liberty themselves, but mourn that their neighbors have the same, and that they have it not in their power to punish or restrain them for their religious sentiments. They groan under the righteous act of *toleration,* as much as our fathers groaned under the unrighteous act of uniformity. However, through the mercy of God, we have but a few men of this stamp among us; and those are such ignorant and despicable creatures, that they are more proper objects of pity than of anger.'

Two other discourses, on the love of God and of our neighbor, were published at the same time; and were intended by Mr. Mayhew, as a practical illustration of those on the right and duty of private judgment. For the great benefit of possessing religious truth and knowledge, was, that it tended to right conduct in itself, and right actions in the sight of God. To know the truth was chiefly important, as it would lead us to conform to it, and to practice accordingly. 'Knowledge can hardly be said to be valuable for its own sake, but only as it may be improved to good and useful purposes. Nor will it eventually be of advantage to us, any farther than we conform ourselves to truth and right in our behavior.' * These plain, but impressive discourses, are well calculated to excite good sentiments and affections; to beget piety and gratitude to God, and kindness and benevolence to man. They are searching, experimental and practical; and display at once the abilities and the christian spirit of the writer. The passage on which they were founded, was the following—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first commandment. And the second is like it: Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commands hang all the law and the prophets.' In explaining and urging the duties here enjoined, and in showing that they comprehend all that is essential in a good man and a true Christian, Mr. Mayhew discovers peculiar talents as a teacher of piety and morality, and exposes the error and fanaticism of those who place religion rather in feeling than in moral goodness. While it is evident his own heart was warmed with devout and grateful feelings towards God, his detestation of hypocrisy and formality is strongly expressed; and he insists on personal and habitual righteousness, as essential in the Christian. Justice to his opinions, as well as to his happy manner of illustrating any subject he undertook to treat, renders it proper to give some extracts from these discourses.

'We are like mariners, bound to another country, to another world. We traverse a boisterous, stormy ocean, where we are often in danger of suffering shipwreck. For the moral world, as well as the natural, has its rocks and whirlpools, its *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and a thousand enchanting sirens. To know the safe way, will not secure us, unless we keep in it, and avoid the danger on either hand. And to be *castaways*, through our own negligence, while we know the course we should steer, instead of diminishing, will augment our sorrow. Religious knowledge, applied to its true ends and purposes, is the only knowledge which can finally be profitable and gainful. For, to use the words of St. James, with a little variation, as the body, without the spirit, is dead, so knowledge, without practice, is dead also.

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* This idea is strongly urged, and shows the desire of the preacher to produce good feelings and a proper deportment in his hearers. Most persons need this exhortation. For it is feared that many, who are ready to examine all things, do not hold fast to that which is good, but are content with mere knowledge; and if they have a rational creed, think little of the importance of exhibiting a practical illustration of the truth.

'What then, has our Lord declared to us to be his will? And what does he require of us? One of the most comprehensive accounts of our duty towards our maker and each other, is contained in the words selected for our present subject; and I shall take it for granted, that the precept, which our Lord calls the first and great commandment, is distinguished not only from all the duties of the second table, so called, but from many of the first; particularly from all outward acts of devotion; from all rights and ceremonies and legal institutions; and, in short, from all duties and services whatever, besides those inward ones of the heart and affections, and of which God is the only and immediate object. The duty here required, is wholly a spiritual sacrifice; and the heart is the only altar upon which it is to be offered. In stating and urging the duty of love to God, I shall have no concern with anything but the inward sentiments of the heart, the affections and desires of the soul towards its Creator, the Father of our spirits. But let no one suppose that I am going to inculcate enthusiasm, because I speak of the religion and devotion of the heart. I propose to speak of nothing but what has its foundation in scripture and the nature of things. Nor will any enthusiasm be encouraged, besides that which sober reason requires.

'The love of God consists in exercising that internal regard to our maker, which his perfections and our relation to him plainly require: and we all profess to believe that he is infinite in wisdom, power and goodness, and perfectly holy and righteous, as well as benevolent; that he is the *Father* of all, and his government over us *paternal*—free from all unnecessary rigor, from all capriciousness and merely arbitrary conduct; that he is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.

'It is sufficient merely to hint, in these general terms, at the moral attributes and character of God. And if he is such as represented, it is not difficult to show those internal regards and emotions of the mind, which are due to him, and to learn the duty required of us by our Lord: and those emotions may be included in love, gratitude, desire of the divine approbation, and delight in the consciousness of it, trust in God, and resignation to his will, and in joy derived from the sense of our filial relation to him. But by this love and desire, and joy, I do not intend those flashy and rapturous sallies of the feelings towards God, which may proceed only from a fond *conceit* that we are singled out to be the peculiar favorites of heaven. We may easily fall into an ecstasy, and run *mad* in religious contemplation, without having anything of that divine love, which is due to the character and perfections of our Creator. The love of God is a calm and rational thing, the result of thought and consideration. It is, indeed, a passion or affection; but a passion excited by reason presenting the proper object of it to the mind. Nor ought we to be so solicitous about avoiding one extreme, as to fall into the contrary. We ought not to run so far from enthusiasm, as to lose sight of real devotion. We ought not to be so fond of a rational religion, as to suppose that it consists wholly in cold, dry speculation, without having any concern with the affections. Real piety necessarily supposes that the heart is touched, affected, warmed, inflamed; and not merely that we have right speculative notions concerning God. A religion consisting in nothing but a knowledge of God's attributes, and an external conduct agreeable to his laws, would be a lifeless, insipid thing. It would be neither a source of happiness to ourselves, nor recommend us to the approbation of him, who requires us 'to give him our hearts.'

'We are taught, both by reason and revelation, that God is perfect in all those moral qualities and excellences, which we esteem amiable in mankind; and which if any do not esteem and admire and love, he is considered as a monster, degraded below humanity, and unworthy to be reckoned among rational creatures. And if it be reasonable to esteem and love our fellow-men, in proportion to their justice, integrity and benevolence, must not he who is perfect in all moral excellence be, in proportion, the proper object of the same affections? The goodness of God so far transcends that of the best of his creatures, that our Savior has told us, 'that there is none good but ONE, and that is God.' The most any one can pretend to, without arrogating too much, is a faint resemblance to the divine perfections. And can it be reasonable to admire and love the mere portrait of moral excellence, and to let the substance, the source and standard of it, remain unregarded? If goodness, in a limited degree, be worthy the esteem of all rational beings, shall not that goodness, which is without bounds, and absolutely perfect, be thought worthy to excite in all a real inward esteem also? —an hearty and sincere complacency?—an ardent, inextinguishable love? Surely in this there is no enthusiasm; nothing fanciful or unreasonable. For those qualities, which, being found in a limited degree, are really amiable, do not cease to be so when they become infinite; but, instead of this, become *infinitely* amiable.

'If there are any schemes or views of religion propagated, in which the Supreme Ruler of the universe is represented as a capricious and tyrannical being, and destitute of impartial goodness, and justice united with mercy, they are equally inconsistent with reason and the gospel of Jesus Christ. These teach us to look upon the Deity, as transcending all his creatures in mercy and goodness, as well as in power and knowledge. Nor shall we behave ourselves as becomes our relation to him, unless we always think of him with joy and gladness. What can be more unreasonable than for those who have in God a father and friend—one who is tenderly concerned for their welfare, and does all that is suitable with wisdom to promote their best interest; what is more unreasonable than for such to entertain gloomy and melancholy thoughts, and indulge in superstitious fears and groundless suspicions?

'Were God a malevolent being; were he an unreasonable tyrant; were he an hard master; were he implacable or revengeful; instead of a merciful and faithful creator, a compassionate parent, a gentle master, a righteous judge—we might well think of him only with fear and horror. But far be it from us to think of God in this manner. While God is our Father; while we are the objects of his love and care;

while he looks on us with pity, and remembers that we are dust; while he makes provision for our salvation, and offers us his pardoning grace; what is there in the character of God to make us gloomy and fearful? Does the idea of a father carry any terror in it? Do we dread the thoughts of our gracious benefactor? Do we tremble at being in his presence; imagining that he inspects our conduct with the malice of an inquisitor, instead of the bowels of a parent? While the fool has said in his heart, there is no God, do we wish there were none? If so, we are fools also.'

In stating the nature and obligation of the command, to love our neighbor as ourself, Dr. Mayhew advances nothing entirely new, indeed, nor so peculiar as to justify larger extracts, or a minute analysis of the discourse. But the last of the series, in which his object is to show that 'the first and great command is to love God,' contains some passages particularly worthy of perusal.

'In the largest sense, (he says.) religion may justly be considered the service of God, the Supreme Governor of the universe: and so it is usually considered in scripture. Now it is apparent that the first thing, not only in point of order, but of importance also, is to form just sentiments of the being whom we serve; to be suitably affected towards him; to cultivate those regards of esteem, love and reverence, which the perfections of his nature, and his relation to us demand. Religion must originate here. There can really be no religion, no service that God can look upon, as done in obedience to him, but what proceeds from this principle, and love to him; and such a principle does indeed insure our obedience to him in all other instances.

'Piety, or the love of God, is the first and principal duty of religion, as much as loyalty to our earthly sovereign is the principle in the character of a good subject. This is the purport of the first command in the decalogue, as well as of the express requirement of Christ in the text. And this principle is also the only sure guide to virtue and righteousness in all our conduct. Without this principle, we shall be continually in danger of relapsing into sin, whenever present advantage is to be gained thereby, notwithstanding the fitness and conscious satisfactions of virtue. But let a man once attain to a suitable sense and regard of the Deity in his mind, let him really 'love God with all his heart,' and this will be a constant principle of virtuous action, in all conditions and circumstances of life. The connexion between the love of God, and obedience to his commands, is so close and inseparable, that the apostle John says, that 'this is the love of God, that we keep his commands.' Nor is it less evident from reason than from revelation. The love of God is the love of his divine perfections; it is the love of truth, goodness, justice, holiness, benevolence, and all moral excellences.'

I will dispense with farther extracts, as to this point, believing that sufficient has been quoted to show the views of Dr. Mayhew, and his manner of treating the subject. It will be perceived that he was of that class or school of theologians, who contend that there was an agreement between Christianity, Judaism, and natural religion, instead of representing them as contradictory to, or really at variance with one another. He believed that what sober reason suggested, what Moses taught and the ancient Jewish prophets inculcated, was confirmed by the gospel; and that the latter did not contradict the great truths of natural religion, or the Mosaic system, though it gave greater sanctions to the doctrines they taught, and revealed others of the highest importance and benefit, before unknown, or barely matter of desire and hope. The design and object of all, as he believed, were to discover useful truths respecting the being and character of God, of his moral government; to convince mankind of their accountability, and to persuade to a sober, righteous, and holy life. Some religious systems, adopted by Christians, have been founded in somewhat different views; and have taught that a particular faith, and certain warm emotions, were all that was necessary to be a Christian; while others have insisted that the great design and the superior excellence of Christianity, consisted in furnishing greater motives to personal holiness, which is necessary to the divine favor and approbation, under every system or dispensation. Mr. Mayhew's sentiments on this point will more fully appear from the following quotations. They are made from that part of his discourse, which is designed to show that love to God and man were the great duties, both of the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ, and that it might be said, that 'on these hang all the gospel of Christ, as well as the law of Moses, and the doctrines of the prophets.'

'Under the Mosaic institution, and during the ministry of the Jewish prophets, the love of God and man were the principal and most important duties—more acceptable to God and more beneficial to mankind, than the most punctilious observance of the ceremonial parts of the law. These were the sure substances of religion under the legal dispensation by Moses. Every thing else was of little account, when put in competition with these great and excellent duties. And this is plainly the light in which the prophets constantly taught the Jews to look upon the various precepts of their law.

'Again; It is clearly implied in the declaration, that 'on the two commands, to love God and our neighbor, hang all the law and the prophets,' that the end and design of all positive institutions and outward rites was to bring men to the practice of piety and benevolence. The rituals of religion, appointed under the law of Moses, had some reference to these essential duties; they were means and helps to bring men to a proper temper of mind towards God and one another; nor were they valuable or beneficial any farther than as they promoted this end, sincere piety, and a life of holiness and charity. In these duties real religion consisted, even under the law; and every thing besides had no other relation to it, than that of means to an end. The rituals of religion, though observed with the greatest exactness, were rather an abomination, than a pleasure to the Lord, when not accompanied by those natural and essential duties.

'Such was the religion of the old testament; and such is the religion also of the new. And I observe, therefore, that these two commands have the same place and preeminence under the gospel dispensation, which they had under the law of Moses; or, in other words, that the gospel of Jesus Christ hangs on (or consists in) these two commands, in the same sense that the law and prophets did. And to prevent any objections, which the ignorant or cavilling may make to this assertion, I would observe, by way of explanation—that it refers specially to duty, or to practical religion, as distinguished from faith. When our Lord said, that all the law and the prophets hang on these two commands, he spoke of the preceptive part of the law, and the duty of the Jews, who were already supposed to believe the law and the prophets, and to be convinced of their divine origin. To such he says, that there were no commands of so much importance as those which related to the love of God and man. And in these consisted the substance of duty under the Jewish economy. Our Lord was not then speaking of what was the substance of natural religion, but of the Mosaic, or Jewish, which was received by the nation as a divine institution. So when it is said, under the gospel dispensation, that the religion of Christ hangs on these two commands, it is taken for granted that Christianity is believed, and that Christ is received as a teacher sent from God, or the promised Messiah, and that the doctrines of his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension to heaven, and all the doctrines delivered by him and his inspired apostles, are firmly believed. This being supposed, if the question was asked, which is the great command in the gospel, the true answer would be, (putting the term gospel instead of the law,) such as our Lord gave to the lawyer.

'Nor is it intended to be intimated, that it is of no importance for Christians to observe the positive institutions of the gospel, provided they practise the natural duties of piety and charity. As our Lord did not intend to forbid the rituals of the law, by giving preference to the love of God and mankind, so they are not set aside by those who apply his declaration concerning the law and the prophets, to the gospel. It is a truth obvious to common sense, that all God's commands are to be obeyed; those of a ritual, as well those of a moral nature; yet, as there were the *weightier matters of the law*, under the Mosaic dispensation, so there are under the gospel also; and these are the *same*, under both dispensations.

'Let it be understood also, that, when I speak of the substance of christian duty, and the weightier matters of the gospel, as consisting in the natural duties of piety and charity, or the love of God and man, I intend that these duties should be performed upon evangelical principles. They are really duties of natural religion; but being adopted into Christianity, they are to be performed on christian principles, and from evangelical motives, with a proper regard to and dependence on the Mediator of this new covenant, whom God sent as our divine teacher, and who gave himself for us.

'With these explanations, I hope none will consider the assertion incorrect or strange, that these two commands contain the sum of human duty; and that they ought to have the same pre-eminence under the gospel, which they had under the law. The main design of the christian institution, is to bring men to that moral purity of heart and life, which is comprised in the love of God and of our neighbor. It is practical religion, the love of God, and a life of righteousness and charity, proceeding from faith in Christ and the gospel, which makes us good men and good Christians; and not wearing the form of godliness—not the belief of any doctrines, however true, concerning the atonement by Christ—not a lazy recumbency on the righteousness of another—not any enthusiastic fervors of spirit—not a firm persuasion that we are elected of God, and our names written in the book of life. Some of the worst men in the world have as much faith as this; attend on sermons and sacraments as often; trust as confidently; have as warm frames and as lively imaginations; and are as firmly persuaded of their being chosen to salvation, as any. But what does all this avail, if that faith be without works; if that form of godliness be without the power; if that trust in the righteousness of Christ supersede personal holiness; if those fervors of soul are unattended by real love to God and charity to man; if those towering imaginations are but the vagaries of a wild fancy; and that persuasion of their being elected, proceed from vanity, and not from their having given diligence to make their calling and election sure?

'The inspired apostles plainly assert and teach, that the great end of Christ's mediation was to bring men to holiness of heart and life; to the love of God and our neighbor. Our Lord's preaching tended to the same point. What is his sermon on the mount, but a moral discourse, wherein the excellence and the necessity of internal piety and holiness of life, is declared in the strongest terms? Indeed the whole tenor of our Lord's instructions was moral. He seldom inculcated any thing upon his hearers, besides piety towards God, and righteousness and charity towards man: and all his discourses were just as contrary to *solifidian* doctrines, (or faith alone,) which many have embraced, as light is to darkness, or Christ to Belial.

'Our Lord insisted so much upon moral duties, that some, of late, in order to vindicate their own unscriptural and irrational manner of preaching, have even been led to deny that he preached the gospel, or designed to do it; alleging that his doctrines and preaching were legal. The conviction which these men have, that their own doctrines and discourses were of a very different cast and tenor from those of our blessed Savior, has put them on making this wretched and impious evasion. They apologize for themselves, by condemning their Lord and Master. And rather than acknowledge, as they ought, that they do not preach the real gospel of Jesus Christ, they deny that Christ himself did.*

'I hope it appears from these observations, that the love of God and of our neighbor, that sincere piety of heart, and a righteous, holy and charitable life, are the weightier matters of the gospel, as well as of the law. Indeed, these are more evidently the substance of christian duty, than of Jewish. Under the gospel, rituals are of far less account than they were under the law. It is not on this mountain, or that, that God is to be worshipped; but every place is a christian temple; for the Father seeketh such to worship him,

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*I am not aware to whom allusion is here made, who had expressly said that Christ did not himself preach the gospel, but was a legal preacher. But antinomians and others have said that we must look into the writings of St. Paul, to find the doctrines of grace—by them so called—fully stated and asserted; and that our Lord, for some reason, chose not to teach and preach them. Whitfield, or other enthusiasts, were at this time spreading their strange notions, under the pretence that they were the essential doctrines of the gospel; and thus, by implication, charged our Lord with not fully preaching the gospel; and thus really claimed to be better teachers and expounders of his religion, than he was himself.—Some have said, our Lord had reference to the doctrine of the trinity, of total depravity, and of particular election, when he said, 'I have many other things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now.' Dr. Mayhew thought, that men who exercised their *reason*, would *never* bear what some call orthodoxy.

as will worship in spirit and truth. Rituals were but a yoke and a burden, weak and beggarly elements, even under the law: and they are much more so under the gospel, when compared to that spiritual sacrifice, which Christians are to offer to God. And, as to charity, this is more peculiarly an evangelical than a legal duty: for which reason, the apostle styles this a *new* command, 'that we love one another.'

'Upon the whole, then, the case seems to stand thus: Although the christian revelation brings us acquainted with some truths, besides those which the light of nature suggests, or Judaism plainly taught; although it enjoins on us some things which do not appear obligatory without an explicit divine command; although it furnishes us with a great variety of new and excellent motives to the practice of our duty in all its branches; and although Christianity cannot, for these reasons, with any propriety or justice be said to be the same with natural religion, or merely a republication of the law of nature: yet the principal, the most important and fundamental duties required by Christianity are, nevertheless, the same which were enjoined under the legal dispensation of Moses, and the same which are dictated by the light of nature. They are *natural*, moral duties, enforced with new and peculiar motives, derived from supernatural revelation; and should be performed from principles inculcated in the gospel, of obedience to God, and of faith in Christ.

'Indeed, it is plain, beyond dispute, that the substance of true religion must necessarily be the same, not only under the Jewish and Christian dispensation, but also, in all countries, to all rational creatures, in all parts of the world, and in all periods of time. Modes and ceremonies of religion may be as various as the condition and circumstances of men; and God may afford different degrees of light and knowledge, in different times and places. But the sum of our duty results from the nature of God, and our relation to him and to one another. And this must be as immutable as God himself.

'Moreover, that religion which must remain invariably the same, under every change of circumstance, through all ages and in all places, to all rational beings, consists in the love and veneration of the Supreme Being, the Father and

Lord of the universe, and in the practice of righteousness and charity. This is the religion which is common to earth and heaven; it is the religion of angels and arch-angels above, as well as of saints below. This was the religion of paradise; this was the religion of Noah, before the flood, and of the patriarchs afterwards. This was the religion which was ratified by God at Mount Sinai; this was the religion under the law and the prophets, to the days of the Messiah. This was the religion which Christ and his apostles preached to the Jews and to the world, under the gospel dispensation. And this will be the religion, the employment, and the happiness of the spirits of just men made perfect hereafter, in the kingdom of heaven. For the love of God and charity shall never fail, though prophecies will fail, and tongues cease, and knowledge (of some kinds) vanish away.

'If, then, the love of God and of our fellow-men be the weightier matters of the gospel, as well as of the law, we are naturally led to bewail the folly, and unhappy error of those who, in a manner, leave these out of their religious system. There are many, even in the christian world, who neglect or undervalue that substantial goodness, which consists in the practice of these sublime and heavenly duties, and employ all their zeal and diligence about things of little or no importance. Christianity is principally an institution of life and manners, designed to teach us how to be good men, and to show us the necessity of our becoming so. Yet there are multitudes who call themselves Christians, who content themselves with an idle, speculative belief of certain notions and doctrines, without troubling themselves to possess that personal holiness, without which we are told no one shall see the Lord. They know their duty so exactly, and believe it so firmly, that they think they may be excused from doing it. If they have a strong faith, and rely firmly upon the righteousness of Christ, they suppose they cannot miss of salvation, although by their sins they crucify the Son of God afresh, and cast reproach on his holy gospel.

'There are many, who, were they asked which was the first and great command, if they gave an answer agreeable to their practice, must say—Thou shalt tell beads devoutly, visit the sepulchres of ancient saints, fall down before relics, pay homage to painted canvas, to carved stones, and moulded clay, and pray often to the MOTHER of God, the Virgin Mary; and if they thought at all of the love of God and our neighbor, would assign them only that which our Savior gives to tything of mint, anise and cummin.

'Others place religion chiefly in having frequent raptures and strange transports of mechanical devotion; in which the less they exercise their reason, the better and more spiritual and devout it is. For till they have lost all *human* understanding, they think it impossible to get a divine one. Thus they go on, raising themselves from one degree of religious frenzy to another, till they run quite divinely mad, and then they imagine that, with St. Paul, they are caught up into the third heaven; that they hear unspeakable words; that they see visions, and have revelations made to them. And the consequence of this is, that they are lifted up above measure; and they look down with contempt upon all *moral* duties, as being below such *spiritual* men.

'These men are for a religion which consists in something more refined and sublime than the love of God and their neighbor; such being *but* rational and natural duties, fit only for *carnal* men; or, at best, for babes in Christ. Nothing can meet the refined taste of these Goliahs in Christianity, but what has some mysterious sublimity in it, and is quite remote from reason. What is plain and obvious, is too low and vulgar for such great proficients in grace and in spiritual fervor. God forbid that I should say anything to discourage a lively and warmer devotion. But such enthusiastic flights as these have no countenance from the gospel of Christ. And the usual consequence of indulging them is the neglect of solid, substantial religion; a rational love of God, of mankind, and the practice of moral virtue. When persons once get to gasping thus eagerly after immediate inspiration, they generally bewilder themselves, lose sight of common sense, and neglect sober religion, for the sake of having *fermented spirits* and superficial flashes of joy. They impute all their ravings, and follies, and wild imaginations to the Spirit of God; and usually think themselves *converted*, when the poor, unhappy creatures are only *out of their wits.*

'As the substance of christian duty consists in the love of God and of our neighbor, and in the practice of morality, we may see what a gospel minister's preaching ought chiefly to turn upon. When he is concerned with such as are already Christians in belief and profession, what he has still to do, is to bring them to be Christians in heart and behavior; not to dwell on speculative points, on trifling distinctions, and metaphysical niceties—which can only perplex his hearers, without improving their minds or morals. But this is too much the case with many. Their constant cry is, 'Believe, believe; come to Christ; depend on his righteousness.' As for holiness and good works, they rarely mention them; and when they do, it is rather with a design to undervalue them, and persuade people they are good for nothing, than to enforce them as the condition and prerequisite of salvation.

'It is evident, also, that they who are offended with moral discourses, under a notion that they are not *evangelical*, are grossly ignorant of the very spirit and design of Christianity: 'they know not what they say, nor whereof they affirm;' and they need to be taught 'the first principles of the oracles of God.' Such ignorant, licentious perverters of the gospel, the apostle speaks of in the following language:—'The time will come, when the people will not endure sound doctrine; but after their *lusts* will have many teachers, and they will turn away from the truth, and be turned unto fables.' And truly, of all *fables* ever invented, there was never one, either for silliness or impiety, that equalled this—that faith, without works, without love to God and man, and a life of holiness, is sufficient to carry us to heaven.

'We see, also, what those doctrines of the gospel are, which ought to be preached and defended with the greatest zeal; those which relate more immediately to practice—piety to God, and benevolence to man. A zeal for such doctrines, is a zeal according to knowledge. But it is apparent that these have been little regarded by many Christians, in comparison of others which a man might disbelieve, without hurting his morals, or endangering his salvation. Those things which have kept the christian world in a ferment, and sharpened the angry passions of men, and set little bigots to calling each other hard names, are nice metaphysical fooleries, scholastic distinctions without a difference, and mere words without a meaning. These are the things, or rather the *nothings*, which have been disputed about, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the gospel; and even to the destruction of piety and brotherly love, and of every thing becoming a man and a Christian.'

Mr. Mayhew's sermons, on the right and wrong in morals, and the right of private judgment on religious subjects, were republished in London, the year following their first appearance here. There are various proofs of their great popularity in England, as well as in America. The following letter from Benjamin Avery, LL. D.,* of Guy's Hospital, dated July, 1750, is appropriate to this point:

'Rev. Sir,—The pleasure I have had in perusing your seven excellent sermons, tempted me, some time since, though an entire stranger to you, to have troubled you with a letter—at once to thank you for having made them public, and to desire your leave to make them more so, by a republication in England. But, while I was designing this, I heard that a gentleman of your acquaintance had put them to press; which made such a request from me quite needless.

'Mr. Jeremiah Allen, (who, to the grief of the sincere friends of the dissenting interest, and the cause of civil and religious liberty, has been lately removed by death,) soon after they were published, made me a present of a copy, and sent another copy for my worthy and highly honored friend, the Bishop of Winchester, (*Hoadly*.) I have had his lordship's repeated orders to join his thankful acknowledgements with my own, whenever I sent them. He, as well as I, regard them as suited to do great service here, as well as to prove a credit to the country in which they were first preached and published.

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* Dr. Avery was a man of extensive learning, and a distinguished political writer. He conducted a political work, called *The Occasional Paper*.

'It was a great surprise, as well as pleasure to us both, to receive such a present from New England. We could not but consider it as a manifold proof that our brethren there were greatly improved in their taste; and as a promising means, too, of a more general improvement. It is to be hoped that just and rational sentiments are gaining ground among you; and that the time is approaching when religion shall be no longer represented as consisting either in a fondness for, or an aversion to, ceremonies; or in a warm zeal about speculative opinions; but in a wise and reasonable regulation of the temper and life.

'I heartily wish you the most desirable success in every thing to which you set your heart and hand.'

In this letter, Mr. Avery also says, that Governor Shirley was ready to recommend Mr. Mayhew for a D. D., 'if I was satisfied about your *orthodoxy;* which I willingly assured him I had no reason to suspect.'

Letter from Rev. Dr. Kippis, London—the date is gone.

'Dear Sir,—Mr. W*****, the bearer, made me an offer of conveying a line to you, which I gladly accepted, on several accounts. I am happy in an opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for the pleasure and improvement I have received from your valuable writings; and of testifying how much I rejoice that the cause of genuine and rational Christianity hath so firm and able a support in New England. That your labors are attended with success, I have an agreeable proof in Mr. W*****, who hath been trained up under your ministry, to substantial piety and virtue. He is not wanting in a strong sense of gratitude and esteem for the obligations thus conferred on him. During his residence in London, he has attended on my preaching, and been joined to my church, over which Dr. Calamy, Mr. Say, and Dr. Hughes have been pastors before me.

'I have not any works to send, which are worthy your acceptance: however, I take the liberty of transmitting two or three sermons I have occasionally published; which I beg you to receive as a testimony of the esteem and respect with which I am, Andrew Kippis.'

An extract of a letter from Rev. Mr. Cornthwaite, of London, dated in 1750, may well be here inserted.

'Mr. Thomas Ward, of Newport, has done me the great favor to send me your sermons in favor of reason, religion, and the right of private judgment. Go on, and prosper; and may the good Lord succeed your labors. I return you my thanks, also, for your sermon on the 30th of January; and wonder not at all that some men cannot conceal their being *horribly galled* by it. As for difference of sentiment, where truth and virtue are honestly pursued, I have no difficulty; for I know I am fallible, and therefore cherish a regard and respect towards all, of every denomination, who deserve it by their christian walk; and I wish to hold converse with all whom I think sincere Christians, of whatever name or sect. * * My health is very feeble of late, for I have had a paralytic attack. This has prevented my writing to you before; and I must beg of you to receive this as an apology for my omission. But, under this infirmity, I comfort myself with the hope, that I am soon to be admitted to the everlasting enjoyment of the blessed society of those pious and enlarged souls, with whom I want to be always conversing here below.'

Dr. Lardner, Dr. Benson, Dr. James Foster, Benjamin Avery, LL. D., (of Guy's hospital,) and Governor Shirley, recommended Mr. Mayhew to the officers of Aberdeen university, for a degree of D. D., which was readily bestowed.*

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* 'REV. SIRS,—I take the liberty of addressing this to you, to certify that the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Mayhew, Master of Arts, minister of the gospel at Boston, is a gentleman of learning and abilities, and of good life and conversation, and deserving of the favor of your university; for obtaining which I recommend him to you. I am, with great respect,

Rev. Sirs,
Your most obedient servant,
W. SHIRLEY,
Governor of Province of the Mass. Bay, New England.
To Rev. the Doctors of the University of Aberdeen.'

'We hereby certify that the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, minister of the gospel at Boston, New England, according to the best of our information and knowledge, is a gentleman of an upright life and conversation, of an unblemished

Rev. Joseph Chalmers, D. D., was then the Principal of the university, and addressed a flattering letter to Dr. Mayhew, on the occasion. This honorable notice of Dr. Mayhew, was soon after his sermons on the right of private judgment, &c., were published in England.

Soon after Dr. Mayhew received his diploma, he wrote letters to the gentlemen by whose recommendation he had procured the degree ; and it is thought proper to give some of them here. His letter to Dr. Chalmers was as follows :

'Rev. Sir,—It is not long since I was surprised with a doctorate from the university, over which you preside. This is an honor, which I supposed neither my years, nor any accomplishments I could boast of, whether natural or acquired, gave me any reason to expect ; and therefore one which I shall ascribe rather to the candor and reputation of those gentlemen who made me known to the university, than to my own deserts.

'However, the intention of this letter is not to compliment the worthy gentlemen, through whose favor and interest I have received this honor, but to express my gratitude to those from whom I received it. I therefore beg the favor of you, Sir, to present my respects to the gentlemen of the university ; and to say to them, that I hold myself greatly indebted to them for the honor conferred on me. But my acknowledgments are particularly due to you, Sir ; not only as the head of the university, but also, as you have allowed your name to be mentioned in the diploma sent me, as being the promoter of it.

'Though the university, of which I shall hereafter beg leave to look on myself as an adopted son—however unworthy—has laid me under great obligation, yet I must acknowledge she has, at the same time, given me a good deal

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character, and of exemplary piety, and great knowledge and abilities, as a minister of God's word : so that we judge him worthy to have the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him.

'In testimony thereof, we have signed these presents, at London, this 8th day of December, 1749.

Benson, D. D.
Lardner, D. D.
Jos. Foster, D. D.
Benj. Avery, LL. D.'

of uneasiness; which will probably continue as long as my term of life. For I shall be anxious lest I should not perform a part answerable to my newly contracted relation; and so bring disgrace upon those whose honors I have received: which would be a return of all others I should be unwilling to make. However, I cannot but hope that the reputation of the university is so great at present, and will still increase so much under your influence, as not to be sensibly eclipsed by one unworthy son, especially one in so remote and obscure a part of the world.'

In a letter to Gov. Shirley, 1750, Dr. Mayhew wrote:

'Sir,—My friend ——— has informed me that your Excellency was pleased to address a line, in my favor, to the university of Aberdeen, from which I have received a doctorate. I am sensible I ought to ascribe this academical honor rather to your Excellency's reputation and influence, than to any particular merit of my own. As you have laid this obligation on me, gratitude requires me to write this line, by way of acknowledgement. So that I hope your Excellency will impute it to sense of duty, which might otherwise be considered as forwardness and presumption. I had no expectation of the honors of any university, being conscious of no worth that should entitle me to them. But my surprise was much increased, when I learnt that I had obtained them, in a great measure, by means of a gentleman, from whose favor many would think my profession—a nonconforming minister—sufficient to exclude me, though there had been no other reason for it, which I am far from asserting. But I find your Excellency is of too generous and catholic a spirit, to confine your good offices within the pale of any religious communion; even one for which you have always expressed the highest regard, consistent with proper candor and moderation towards those of different persuasions. I shall detain your Excellency no longer, than while I beg leave to wish you all health and happiness, during your absence from your government here, and success in your negotiations; and to pray that when you return to the province, it may be to the mutual felicity of yourself and the people you govern.'

To Dr. George Benson, Dr. Mayhew writes thus, in reply to a letter from him, July, 1750. Mayhew's letter is dated October 17, 1750.

'It is but a day or two since I received your double favor—your very kind letter, and your excellent volume of sermons. Either of them alone would have laid me under great obligation; both lay me under such as is much too great for me ever to expect to make suitable return for. However, you have my sincerest thanks. And this, I am persuaded, is all your goodness desires, though much less than it justly demands.

'I am also to make you my grateful acknowledgements for the favor you did me, in subscribing a line, in my behalf, to the university of Aberdeen, with other Hon. and Rev. gentlemen; in consequence of which I have her honors. I pretend to no merit, which should entitle me to them. But next to merit, I esteem the favorable opinion and patronage of such worthy persons. For this favor, I had determined to return my sincere thanks, before you did me a second, by your book and letter. But while I was about this, I received this repeated token of your kindness and friendship. And since you have given me leave to write to you, I am now saved the trouble of an apology, for what might otherwise have needed one—the troubling a person, of your character and distinction in the learned world, with a letter from these remote parts.

'It is several years since I have been your debtor, with many others unknown to you, for your first quarto volume on the Epistles. The second, I have lately procured; from which I expect to reap equal pleasure and profit, when I have read it with equal attention.

'It gives me great pleasure to find myself, though so young and obscure a person, not wholly overlooked by a gentleman of your years and reputation; one at so great a distance, and one to whose writings I am so much indebted for that inconsiderable knowledge which I have been able to acquire.

'And as to that spirit of liberty and charity, which you are pleased to speak of, as appearing in my sermons, if I have anything of it, it has in part been imbibed from your works. I shall not presume so far as to request you to favor me with another letter; but, if your studious and laborious life could spare a few minutes for that purpose, it would afford me very great pleasure. Your condescension has induced you to subscribe yourself my 'affectionate brother:' but I desire no greater honor, than that of being considered your obliged and dutiful son.

'P. S. I herewith send you a discourse, which I published some months ago, occasioned by the frequent railings on the 30th of January. If you should ever give yourself the trouble to read it, you may think some of the expressions too harsh. With respect to this, I have no other apology to make, than that I was, about this time, much provoked by the senseless clamors of some tory-spirited churchmen; this being the strange spirit which seems to prevail among the episcopal clergy here, even to this day.'

Dr. Mayhew's letter to Rev. Dr. James Foster, on this occasion, was as follows:

'I have been indebted to you, almost ever since I was able to read, for those excellent sermons, and other writings, which you have published. However, as in this you designed me no favor but what you designed to the world in general; and as my name has, till very lately, been unknown to you, I supposed it would have appeared more like officiousness and impertinence, than gratitude, to make you any formal acknowledgment; though I have always considered you in the amiable light of a benefactor. But since you have laid me under the particular obligation, by recommending me to the university of Aberdeen, I hope this is sufficient to secure me against the charge of impertinence in writing you; and to render that a duty, which might otherwise be deemed boldness in me, to a gentleman of your years, and character.

'I hold myself much indebted for the favor mentioned; and shall always consider the academical honors, which I have lately received, as much enhanced, by being obtained through the friendship and patronage of such worthy persons as yourself and those other gentlemen who were pleased to make a favorable mention of me.

'It was not without sorrow that I heard, some months ago, that you were dangerously ill; nor without sensible pleasure that I have since been informed that you enjoy a good measure of health. For while your life and strength are continued, I feel assured the world cannot but receive great benefit from them.'

Here follow some extracts from his letter to Benjamin Avery, LL. D., (of Guy's hospital,) London.

'It is now several years since I have been acquainted with your name and writings; and since, I have loved and honored you as a benefactor to my country, and a friend to mankind. For that you merit this most amiable character, cannot be doubted by any one, who has read 'The Occasional Paper,' and is in any measure acquainted with the history of your useful life. But though it is long that you have been no stranger to me, it was some surprise to me, when I lately understood that so obscure a person as myself, and in so remote a part of the world, was not entirely unknown to you. And my surprise was much increased, when I was given to understand that you had, I know not how, conceived so good an opinion of me, as to subscribe a line, with several Rev. gentlemen in London, to the university of Aberdeen, in order to procure her honors for me. These honors, however unworthy, I have since received; and, next to having any merit of my own to entitle me to them, I esteem the honor of having such worthy patrons as you, Sir, and the other persons by whose means I obtained them.

'I shall trouble you no longer than to express a wish that your valuable life may be prolonged for the good of mankind; and that you may spend the remainder of it as happily to yourself as to others.

'When alluding to my mean sermons, you speak of its being a *surprise* to the Bishop of Winchester (Hoadly) and yourself, to receive such a present from New-England: I could not help calling to mind a couplet of Pope's, if you will excuse my quoting it—

> 'The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare—
> But wonder how the d—l they got there.'

'It is no small mortification to me, to find what a mean opinion gentleman in England entertain of my country's *taste;* but it is much greater to know that this opinion is just and well grounded. It cannot be denied, that the general taste of New-England, and the manner of writing here, have been such, that any production from hence, which was but just tolerable, might naturally excite some degree of wonder; and appear almost as strange as 'any good thing coming out of Nazareth.' But, that you looked on my sermons in this favorable light, I shall always be more apt to subscribe to some unaccountable prepossession in their favor, than to any real merit in them, superior or even equal to that of many other sermons published among us.

'A catholic spirit is what this country has hitherto been almost a stranger to. The clergy, generally, are very contracted in their opinions; and the laity, if possible, more so. But there are some symptoms of an alteration for the better: and indeed, I am sorry to say, an alteration for the worse is hardly possible.*

'I have ventured to send you a discourse, which I published last winter, about the time that the episcopal clergy here are often seized with a strange sort of frenzy, which I know not how to describe, unless it be by one or two of its most remarkable symptoms. These are, preaching passive obedience, worshipping king Charles I., and cursing the dissenters and puritans for murdering him. You possibly have seen persons in this melancholy condition, as you have so much concern with an *hospital*, but especially if your humanity (as is very likely,) has ever led you to *Bedlam*, to relieve the pitiable objects there. I am sensible of faults in this discourse myself, and doubt not that you will detect many more.

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* This contracted and exclusive spirit has continued to the present time, and within fifty years has raged in a great degree. We hope it is amending.

'The great candor of the Bishop of Winchester, for whom I have long had a profound respect, and to whom I am much obliged by the kind notice which he took of me to you, has induced me to send him a copy of the same discourse, with a letter of acknowledgement. I have great doubt, however, whether this would not rather be imputed to officiousness than gratitude. You can best judge whether there will be any indecorum in it, or not;* and, therefore, I have transmitted both the discourse and the letter to you. The letter is unsealed; and I beg the favor of you to run it over, and then either to send or to suppress both, as you shall judge proper. I had much rather they should not be sent, if you suppose that they will not find a favorable reception. I confide so much in your kindness to me, that I am sure you will not do any thing which might probably give his lordship a worse opinion of me. If you should suppress them, I must still beg you to let his lordship know what a grateful sense I have of his goodness and condescension.

'You see, Sir, that your former courtesy has induced me to ask more favors of you. But this I should not do, were I not fully persuaded, that it is one of your greatest pleasures to oblige.'

A part of the letter above alluded to, to Bishop Hoadly, is here given. Only a part of it has been preserved.

'My Lord,—I know not how I can more properly begin this letter, than by asking your lordship's pardon for writing it. Nor am I wholly without hopes of obtaining this, when I consider your great benevolence and truly christian condescension. Indeed, I should never have had the boldness to approach you in this manner, had not your lordship contributed to excite it in me, by the kind mention you were pleased to make of me to Dr. Avery, who has lately honored me with a letter. So that my crime is chiefly owing to the same candor in your lordship, to which I must have recourse for the forgiveness of it. And, as, on one hand, the approbation of the Bishop of Winchester, in any degree, is enough to make almost any man vain; so, on the other, his goodness is too great to leave almost any one to despair of a pardon.

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* There was much severity—some said, *asperity*—in this discourse, and many sharp censures on lordly bishops, as well as on the high tory party of that time, which might offend even the candid Hoadly.

'Permit me to return your lordship my most humble acknowledgements for the notice you condescended to take of me, and of those mean sermons which were the occasion of it; and, at the same time, to add my worthless thanks to those which all the good men of three nations owe, and the best are ready to pay, to your lordship, for your writings, both political and theological, agreeable to the two stations you have so long adorned—that of an English peer, and that of a divine of the christian church.

'And, while I am asking favors, suffer me to make one request more; which is, that your lordship would please to accept the discourse herewith sent you. You have an undoubted right to a copy of it; so that I could not omit sending it, without manifest injustice—if that be true which some here have asserted, viz.: 'that the greater part of it was stolen from your lordship's original'————————

The letter to Dr. Mayhew, from Dr. Benson, to which there is an answer a few pages back, is dated July, 1750, and is as follows:

'Dr. Avery first lent me your sermons, and the ——— has since given me a copy of them. They breathe the noble spirit of liberty and extensive charity; and give us pleasing prospect of such a spirit being diffused in New England. I love you, though unknown, and sincerely wish you success in your studies and labors. I desire your favorable acceptance of a volume of sermons which I have published, and should be glad to hear from you at your leisure.

'Sincerely, your affectionate brother,

GEORGE BENSON.'

To Rev. Dr. Lardner he addressed the following, in 1750.

'I have long been greatly obliged, in common with the rest of the world, for your 'Credibility of the Gospel History;' which I have read, more than once, with great satisfaction, and, I hope, not without advantage. This is the only fruit of your learned labors, which I have been hitherto so happy as to see; and for this, I beg leave to add my sincere and humble thanks to those which all owe you, and, I doubt not, many have paid. But you have laid me under a particular obligation, by joining in a recommendation of me to the university of Aberdeen; which was the means of procuring her honors for me, when I had not the least expectation of them. For this office, I return you my grateful acknowledgments; and shall always look upon it as one felicity, and a happy circumstance of my life, that I have the favorable opinion of so learned and worthy a person as Dr. Lardner. I hope you will be so good as to pardon my thus troubling you, if I detain you no longer than to ask your prayers, and to subscribe myself your obliged and dutiful son.'

A letter from Rev. Edward Sandercock, dated London, October 2, 1750.

'Rev. Sir,—Though a stranger to your person, I am not so to your merit and your fame. I am one among many who have read your sermons with the utmost approbation and pleasure. And, having a fair opportunity, I cannot resist the desire I have, and the obligation I think myself under, to return you thanks for those excellent discourses.*

'Wherever they had been preached, I should have perused them with no small complacency, and, I must add, not without profit to myself; but I own that the pleasure is much heightened by the consideration of the place where they were preached. For I hope it is a presage, a sort of pledge that *liberty* and *charity* will spread in the churches of New-England. I thank God, who has raised up one, in those parts, so strongly disposed and so admirably well qualified to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion, and in the true spirit and temper of it; to free it from that superstition and enthusiasm, that narrowness and *nonsense*, that uncharitableness and bigotry, which have, in all places, so sadly and so generally prevailed, to its disgrace and disturbance. And I am rejoiced to find that, though your brethren of the ministry, (so much to their dishonor, not to yours,) are unwilling to permit you to unite with them, by receiving you into their association, you have so many, and weighty, and zealous friends among the most sensible and impartial of the laity. No one's wishes, for the continuance of your life and health, and the increase of your encouragement and success, can be more sincere than mine.

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* These were the sermons on the right of private judgment, and the right and wrong in morals, &c., published here in 1748, and in London in 1749—Dr. Mayhew's first publications.

'We are ground, as it were, between enthusiasm and infidelity. The cause of liberty has suffered extremely here 'in the houses of its friends:' so many instances are there of those, who, setting out upon principles of rational and christian freedom, have degenerated into scepticism and deism.

'Dr. Foster's indifferent state of health, I fear, will retard the publication of his second volume.* The body of our clergy were not inclined, I believe, to shed tears over Dr. Middleton's tomb. His death has given some rest to the zealous advocates for the fathers, in the most exceptionable part of their writings. But, I am told, he has left some pieces ready for the press, which will give them further trouble. I write in great haste, otherwise I should write more largely and somewhat more correctly. Still I am, with great sincerity and esteem, and very affectionately, your brother in the ministry, and humble servant,

EDWARD SANDERCOCK.'

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* Dr. James Foster corresponded with Dr. Mayhew, after this time. He published several sermons; and a reply to '*Tindal*,' a deistical writer of that day.

A Mr. William Murdock, under date of London, April, 1751, wrote to Dr. Mayhew, on occasion of his receiving the honors of Aberdeen university—

'I have received your agreeable favors of 22d of October last, and have waited so long for a favorable opportunity of having my answer presented to you by our worthy friend, Mr. ******. I thank you for your kind wishes in my behalf; and gladly accept your tender of friendship, on your own terms. In the mean time, you may be assured of my best endeavors to cultivate the same, on all occasions, in the most agreeable manner in my power.

'The instances you have already produced to the world, of your learning and ingenuity, leave me no room to doubt of your approving yourself a worthy and dignified son to our common *alma mater;* of which, I think I have a right to claim some merit; as I was happily instrumental in introducting you to that learned body; where, it is true, I had my education, but hitherto have been able to do no honor to that institution, until now, when it is reflected from you.'

Soon after Dr. Mayhew received the degree of D. D. from Aberdeen, he wrote a letter to his venerable father, in which he says—

'I have lately had the favor of a letter from the learned Dr. Benson, of London, with a book of his. He writes to me with great kindness, and much more respect than I could claim. I have also had a letter from Dr. Avery, of London. He is pleased to speak of me and my sermons in a highly flattering manner. He tells me he has had the repeated orders of his honored friend, the Bishop of Winchester, to join his thankful acknowledgements with his own, whenever he sent them.

'I know you interest yourself so much in my welfare and reputation, that you will not be displeased at my hinting these things to you; though I cannot but be sensible, at the same time, that you wish, as I do myself, that I better deserved such expressions of esteem. I have also had compliments, both from England and Scotland, on account of my sermon concerning king Charles; and understand it is either reprinting, or already reprinted, in the latter of these places.

'It is no small trouble to my mind, that I am *obliged* to entertain some opinions, considerably different from yours, and those of many other persons in the country.' * * * *

Another letter from Rev. Dr. George Benson, is here given, though written in Feb., 1752.

'When you and your friends subscribe for Taylor's Hebrew Concordance, be pleased to remit the money to me, and not to booksellers, who expect a large profit. Mr. Taylor is now in London. The work is in the press, with large improvements, which have been made since the proposals were issued. As to my own works, I am printing a second edition of them, which will be far more correct and perfect than the former. After my paraphrase is finished, I think I shall publish a second edition of my history (of the first planting of Christianity.) I cannot afford to give them away, as it has been a work of great expense, as well as time and labor. Nor can I beg gentlemen to buy to give away. But I shall readily send a sett to Harvard college library, if you think it will be any benefit to the college.

'I took care to forward your letter to my benevolent and worthy friend, Mr. Sandercock, who lives a few miles from town.

'Mr. Taylor has published a small work on the atonement of Christ. There are already three answers published, and two more proposed. Dr. Foster has finished his two volumes of discourses on natural religion and social virtue. But he is in so poor a state of health, that it is questioned whether he will be able to preach any more, or even to live much longer. My very learned and worthy assistant, Dr. Lardner, has left off preaching; which increases my work, as I have not been able, hitherto, to get an agreeable and proper colleague.

'If any thing should call you to this part of the world, it would give great pleasure to many, and to myself in particular. But I hope to meet you in another and much happier place and state. I forget whether I have thanked you for the pamphlets you sent me. Mr. Hobart's second address pleased me much.* Your missionaries, of the episcopal party, are sad men; and the behavior of the Society here, which supports them, cannot be fully vindicated.'

I add here, though written a little before this time—

In 1749, Dr. Mayhew wrote his father as follows, respecting Whitfield:—' When he was lately in Boston, many persons attended him, but chiefly of the more illiterate sort, except some who went out of curiosity. I heard him once; and it was as low, confused, puerile, conceited, ill-natured, enthusiastic a performance, as I ever heard.'

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* Remarks on the conduct of episcopalians in Connecticut. Mr. Hobart was minister at Fairfield, in that province. He was graduated in Harvard college, 1724. This was soon after four of the clergy of Connecticut professed to be episcopalians, of whom T. Cutler, then rector of Yale college, was one. Mr. Hobart wrote on the subject about 1750, after great efforts were made by the bishops, in England, to support episcopalian ministers in America.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of an account, and extracts from, his publications—A Discourse on the anniversary of the death of Charles I., in January, 1750—His Election Sermon, in 1754, and other political discourses.

The next publication of Mr. Mayhew's was a sermon, delivered January 30, 1750,* concerning *unlimited submission* and *non-resistance* to the higher powers; with reflections on the resistance made to king Charles I. He delivered three discourses on the subject; and the one published was the last of these, with some paragraphs from the other two. It was published by the particular request of his society; and the occasion was the anniversary of the death of king Charles I.; which, at that time, was observed as a FAST by the members of the episcopal church, and kept with great apparent interest by the tory and high-church party. The discourse was republished in England; and was circulated and read extensively. For, in 1750, the old tory party was asserting principles, in favor of the authority and prerogative of the monarch, almost as dangerous as those advanced in the days of the tyrannical Stuarts.

In the preface to this discourse, he says, 'he hopes few will think the subject improper for the pulpit, under a notion that it is preaching politics, instead of Christ;' and he 'begs it may be remembered that all scripture is profitable for doctrine, for *reproof*, for *correction*, and for instruction in righteousness;' and thence infers, that 'the parts of scripture, which relate to civil government and rulers, are to be explained from the pulpit, as well as others.' His text was Rom. xiii. 1—8. 'Obedience to the civil magistrate,' he says,

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* Rather on the Lord's day, next after the 30th of January.

'is a christian duty; but the nature, extent, and grounds of it, are to be duly considered in a christian assembly.'

He says, he 'had been led to reflect on the subject. before the 30th of January; because, on that day, the slavish doctrine of passive obedience and of non-resistance was warmly asserted; and all dissenters from the English established church represented, not only as schismatics—with more triumph than truth, and of choler than Christianity—but, also, as persons of seditious, traitorous, and rebellious principles.* But, God be thanked, one may speak freely, if a decent regard be paid to those in authority, both of government and religion; and even give some *broad hints* that he is engaged on the side of liberty, the bible, and *common sense*, in opposition to tyranny, priestcraft, and *nonsense;* without being in danger either of the bastile, or the inquisition; though there will be some selfish politicians, contracted bigots, and hypocritical zealots, for a party, to take offence at such freedoms.

'A spirit of domination is always to be guarded against, both in church and state, even in times of apparent security. Civil tyranny is usually small in the beginning, like the drop of a bucket; till, at length, like a mighty torrent, or the raging waves of the sea, it bears down all before it, and deluges whole countries and empires. Thus it is, also, as to ecclesiastical tyranny—the most cruel, intolerant and impious of any. From small beginnings, it exalts itself above all which is called God, and that is worshipped. People have no security against being unmercifully priest-ridden, but by keeping all imperious bishops, and other clergymen who love to lord it over God's heritage, from getting their foot into the stirrups at all. For, let them be once fairly mounted, and their beasts, the laity, may flounce and prance about to no purpose; and they will, at length, be so jaded and hacked by these reverend jockies, that they will not even have spirit enough to complain that their backs are galled, or, like Balaam's ass, to rebuke the madness of the prophet.

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* It should be recollected, that the governors in Massachusetts were then appointed by the king, and were episcopalians, sent over from England. Their particular patronage and favor were bestowed on the few episcopal clergy in this province, as well as in New-Hampshire, New-York, and New-Jersey; which served to render them overbearing, and unwilling to allow the congregational clergy to be ministers of the gospel. So haughty and censorious were most of them, that one was led to say of them, 'they know not what spirit they are of.' Great efforts were then making to settle episcopal clergy in New-England, who were most anxious to increase the members of the English episcopal church, and to interfere with the other clergy. These episcopal ministers were supported by the English hierarchy; and the civil administration of the British government particularly favored and encouraged this plan, for the purpose of supporting the political measures and views of the ministers, then strongly leaning to tory doctrines. It was considered important to increase and extend episcopacy in the colonies, with a view to secure obedience to all political measures and plans. 'No bishops, no kings,' was the opinion and party cry of many. The high-tory characters in England have always thought, with king James, though they have not expressly said it—'I sware by my soul, that I believe presbyterianism and independents can no more agree with monarchy, [such as the *Stuarts* claimed,] than God and the devil.'

'Tyranny brings ignorance and brutality along with it. It degrades men from their just rank. into the class of brutes. It damps their spirits. It suppresses arts. It extinguishes every spark of noble ardor and generosity in the breasts of those who are enslaved by it. There is nothing great or good where its influence reaches. It therefore becomes every lover of truth and of human kind, every true lover of God and of the christian religion, to bear a part in opposing this hateful monster. And it was a desire to contribute a mite towards carrying on a defensive war against the common enemy, that produced this discourse.'

That we may fully perceive the merit due to Dr. Mayhew, for his able and bold opposition to arbitrary principles, especially at the time he preached and published this discourse, as well as his election sermon in 1754, it should be recollected, that it was several years before the pamphlet, by James Otis, 'On the Rights of the Colonies,' appeared; or the controversy, between the patriots of Massachusetts, and governors Bernard and Hutchinson, which issued in the revolution of 1775. That controversy began in 1764, and was ably and successfully maintained, on the side of constitutional liberty and popular rights, by James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, and others.

In his sermons on the right of private judgment in religious concerns, to which reference has already been made, Dr. Mayhew incidentally spoke against the attempts of political rulers, as well as of popes and prelates, to fetter the intellect, or to control the opinions of men; and denied the authority of civil governments to interfere in matters of conscience. But in the discourse on the anniversary of the death of King Charles I., he referred to the disputes and the contest between the king and parliament; and, in strong language, condemned the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, which was contended for by the ministers and courtiers of that unfortunate and infatuated prince, on the ground of divine right, as he was the anointed of God; and who insisted that entire obedience was therefore due to him by his subjects, however foolish and tyrannical he might be in his kingly requisitions. In this discourse, even at the comparatively early age of thirty, he expresses his indignant feelings against tyranny, and his ardent attachment to civil liberty.

He explains and qualifies the doctrines of obedience to civil government, as all intelligent and judicious republicans now do, and as the political writers in New-England ever have. He urges the christian doctrine of obedience to all legitimate governments and to lawful authority; and only contends for constitutional liberty. But against the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, as advanced and urged in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts, and against the undefined powers and prerogatives, claimed for those who wore a crown, he argues justly and forcibly; and shows the absurdity and the evils of such principles. He also points out the various arbitrary acts of Charles I.; his violation of the just rights of the people; his repeated breaches of faith, and his plan of bringing in a foreign power to enslave his own subjects; and he insists, at some length, that the subjects are not obliged to yield absolute and entire submission to a prince who is capricious and arbitrary, and who himself disregards and violates his own obligations to rule with justice and equity, and according to law. He even justifies resistance to tyrants, if no remedy can be had by peaceable means, and they continue in a course of oppression and injustice. The same ground was taken by the whigs, in

England in 1688, and by the patriots in the colonies, in 1765—1775.

But it may be proper to quote some parts of the discourse; though if all were given which is powerfully written, our extracts would be very copious, and it might require the whole to be presented.

'That *unlimited* obedience, of any sort, cannot be urged, merely from the indefinite expressions in which obedience is enjoined in scripture, appears from hence: that expressions of the same nature frequently occur in scripture, on which all confess that no such absolute and unlimited sense ought to be put. For example, 'love not the world, nor the things of the world;' 'lay not up for yourselves treasures on the earth;' 'take no thought for the morrow.' These precepts are expressed in absolute and unlimited terms; but it is generally allowed that they are to be understood with certain restrictions and limitations—some degree of love of the world and the things of it, being reasonable and proper. Nor, indeed, do the *right-reverend fathers in God*, and other dignified prelates of the episcopal church, seem to be altogether averse to admitting restrictions in the latter case, however warm they may be against restrictions and limitations, in case of absolute submission to authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, in which their personal interest is involved. The christian precepts of forbearance and submission under private injuries, are enjoined in more peremptory and absolute terms, than any used which require submission to oppression and injustice in civil rulers. Any one may be defied to produce such strong expressions in favor of passive and tame submission to unjust and tyrannical rulers, as are used by Christ to enforce submission to private wrongs. Yet few understand those expressions in a strict and literal sense. And the reason why they do not, is, because common sense shows they were not intended to be so understood.'

He illustrates the subject further, by referring to the christian command to wives, to submit to their husbands *in all things*.

He then illustrates the argument of the apostle, in requiring obedience to all in authority and power, by the following similitude :—' Suppose it were allowed that the clergy were an useful order of men, and that they ought to be esteemed highly, in love, for their works sake, and to be decently supported by those whom they serve ; the laborer being worthy of his reward. Suppose, further, that a number of reverend and right-reverend *drones*, who worked not, who preached perhaps only once or twice a year, and then not the gospel of Christ, but the *divine right* of tythes—the dignity of their office as embassadors of Christ—the equity of *sinecures* and a *plurality* of benefices—the excellency of the devotions in the prayer-book—or some favorite point of church tyranny and anti-christian usurpation : suppose such men as these, spending their time in effeminacy, luxury, and idleness, should, merely by the merit of ordination and consecration, and a peculiar, *odd* habit, claim great respect and reverence from those whom they call *beasts of the laity*, and demand *thousands* per annum for the good service *which they never performed :* suppose this should be the case, (it is only by way of simile, and surely can give no offence,) would not any body be astonished at such insolence, injustice and impiety ? And ought not such men to be told plainly that they could not reasonably expect the esteem and reward due to the ministers of the gospel, unless they did the duties of their office ? Should they not be told, that their title and habit could justly claim no regard, reverence or pay, separate from the care, and work, and various duties of their function ?—and that while they neglected the latter, the former served only to render them the more ridiculous and contemptible, as well as oppressive ?

' The application of this similitude to the case before us, is very easy. If those, who bear the title of civil rulers, do not perform the *duty* of civil rulers, but act directly counter to the sole end and design of their office ; if they injure and oppress their subjects, instead of defending their rights and doing them good ; they have not the least pretence to be honored, obeyed, and rewarded, according to the apostle's argument. For his reasoning, to show the duty of subjection to the *higher powers,* is built on the supposition that they do, in fact, perform the *duty* of rulers.

'But it should be remembered, that, if the duty of universal obedience and non-resistance to a king or prince, can be argued from scripture, the same unlimited submission, under a republican, or any other form of government, and even to all subordinate rulers in any particular state, can be proved by it as well; which is more than those who allege it for their own special purpose, are willing to admit. The advocates for unlimited submission and non-resistance, if I mistake not, always speak with reference to kingly or monarchical government, as distinguished from all others; and with reference to submitting to the will of the king, in distinction from all other subordinate officers, acting beyond their commission and the authority which they have received from the crown. It is not pretended that any other persons, besides kings, have a *divine right* to do what they please, so that no one may resist them, without incurring the guilt of faction and rebellion. If any other secular powers oppress the people, it is generally allowed that the people may get redress by resistance, if other methods prove ineffectual. And if any officers, in a kingly government, go beyond the limits of the powers they have derived from the crown, (the pretended source of all power and authority in the state,) and attempt, illegally, to take away the lives or property of their fellow-subjects, they may be resisted, at least till application can be made to the crown. But as to the sovereign himself, he may not be resisted in any case; nor any of his officers, while they confine themselves within the bounds which he has prescribed to them.

'This, I think, is a true sketch of the principles of those who defend the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. But there is nothing in scripture which supports this scheme of political despotism, or such arbitrary principles. The apostle does not concern himself with the different forms of government. This he supposes to be left entirely to human prudence and discretion. Now, the consequence of this is, that unlimited and passive obedience is no more enjoined, in this passage, under monarchical government, or to the supreme power in a state, than under any other form of government.

'The essence of government,* I mean good government, and this is the government the apostle treats of, consists in making good laws, and in the wise and just execution of them—laws attempered to the common welfare of the governed. And if this be in fact done, it is evidently, in itself, a thing of no consequence what the particular form of government is; whether the legislative and executive power be lodged in one and the same person, or in different persons; whether in one person, which is called a monarchy; whether in a few—whether in many, so as to constitute a republic; or in three co-ordinate branches, in such manner as to make the government partake of each of these forms, and to be, at the same time, essentially different from them all. If the end be attained, it is enough. But no form of government seems to be so unlikely to accomplish this end as absolute monarchy; nor is there any one which has so little pretence to a *divine* original, unless it be in this sense, that God first permitted it into, and thereby overturned, the commonwealth of Israel, as a curse or punishment on that people, for their folly and wickedness particularly, in desiring such a government.

'If we calmly consider the nature of the thing itself, nothing can well be imagined more directly contrary to common sense, than to suppose that *millions* of people should be subject to the arbitrary and precarious pleasure of a single man, (who has, *naturally*, no superiority over them in point of authority,) so that their estates and every thing valuable in life, and even their lives also, shall be absolutely at his disposal, if he happens to be wanton and capricious enough to demand them. What unprejudiced man can think that God made all to be thus subservient to the lawless pleasure and frenzy of *one*, so that it shall always be a *sin* to resist him. Nothing but the most *plain* and *express* revelation from heaven, could make a sober, impartial man believe such a monstrous, unaccountable doctrine; and, indeed, the thing itself appears so shocking, so out of all proportion, that it may be questioned whether all the miracles ever wrought could make it credible that such a doctrine came from God. At present there is not a syllable in scripture which gives any countenance to it. The hereditary, indefeasible, divine right of kings, and the doctrine of non-resistance, which is built on the supposition of such a right, are altogether as *fabulous* and *chimerical* as *transubstantiation*, or any of the most absurd reveries of ancient or modern visionaries. These notions are fetched neither from divine revelation, nor from human reason; and if they are derived from neither of these sources, it is not much matter *whence they come*, or *whither they go*. Only it is a pity such doctrines should be propagated in society, to raise factions and rebellions, as we see they have, in fact, both in the last and present reign.

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* This paragraph is not in the discourse on the death of Charles I. But it was thought best to give it with other quotations; and to some it may be a matter of curiosity to have the views of Dr. Mayhew on the subject, seventy-five years ago.

'We may safely assert these two things, in general, without undermining civil government:—One is, that no civil rulers are to be obeyed, when they enjoin things inconsistent with the word and commands of God. All disobedience, in such case, is lawful and *glorious*; particularly if people refuse to comply with any legal establishment of religion, because it is a gross perversion and corruption of a pure and divine religion, brought from God to man by the Son of God himself, the only head of the christian church. All commands, running counter to the revealed will of God, are null or void; and disobedience to them is not a crime, but a duty.

'Another thing may be asserted, with equal truth and safety; which is, that no government is to be submitted to, at the expense of that which is the great and sole end of government, the common good and welfare of society. Because, to submit in such a case, if it should ever happen, would evidently be to set up *means* as more valuable and above the end; than which there cannot be a greater solecism and absurdity. The only reason of the institution of civil government, and the only rational ground of submission to it, is the common safety and utility. If, therefore, in any case, the common safety and utility would not be promoted by submission to the government, but extensive and lasting evil ensue, there is no ground or motive for submission and obedience, but for the contrary.'

The remarks, touching the character of Charles I., who was called a *martyr* and a *saint*, by the episcopalians and the advocates for the *divine right* of kings, are very severe and ironical, and some may think should be suppressed, from a regard to the reputation of Dr. Mayhew; but fidelity seems to require a statement of his manner of treating the subject. That he might have spared some passages, most will probably admit; and some may call his severity imprudent and unwise; but he thought the absurd doctrines and abuses, then sanctioned by most of the English bishops, deserved rebuke; and his peculiar talent of irony is moreover fully disclosed by this discoure.

'This leads me to make some reflections on the resistance which was made, a little more than a century ago, to that unhappy prince, Charles I., and on the '*anniversary*' of his death. This is a point, which I should not have concerned myself about, were it not that some men continue to speak of it, even at the present day, with a great deal of warmth and zeal; and in such a manner, indeed, as to undermine all the principles of *liberty*, both civil and religious, and to introduce the most abject slavery, both in church and state: so that it has become a matter of universal concern fully to understand it.

'The resistance made to king Charles, was on account of the tyranny and oppressions of his administration. He governed in a most wild and arbitrary manner; paying no regard to the constitution or laws of the kingdom, by which the power of the crown was limited, nor the solemn oath which he took at his coronation. But it would be endless, as well as needless, to particularize the illegal and despotic measures which he pursued, partly from his own natural lust of power, and partly from the advice of wicked ministers, some of whom were bishops. Now it was on account of king Charles' assuming a power above the laws, in direct contradiction to his coronation oath, and governing in a most arbitrary and oppressive manner—it was on this account that resistance was made to him; which, at length, issued in the loss of his crown, and of that head which was unworthy to wear it.*

'And by whom was this resistance made? Not by a private *junto;* not by a *small,* seditious party; not by a *few* desperadoes, who, to retrieve their fortunes, would embroil the state; but by the peers and commons of England. They almost unanimously opposed the king's measures for overturning the constitution, and changing that free and happy government into an absolute monarchy; and yet it must be acknowledged that the trial of the king at last, when he was condemned to be executed, was little better than a mockery of justice.

'A question also arises, whether the resistance made to the king, by the parliament, was properly a *rebellion.* The answer to which is plain, that it was not; but a most righteous and *glorious* stand, made in defence of the *natural* and *legal* rights of the people, against the *unnatural* and *illegal* encroachments of arbitrary power. Nor was this a rash and too sudden opposition. The nation had been patient under the oppressions of the crown, even to long-suffering, for a course of many years; and there was no rational hope of redress in any other way. Resistance was absolutely necessary to preserve the nation from slavery, misery and ruin.

'Charles I. set himself above all the laws of God, as well as above the written laws of the realm; and made mere humor and caprice, which are no rule at all, the only rule and measure of his administration, And is it not perfectly ridiculous to call resistance to such a tyrant, rebellion?—'the *grand rebellion?*' Even that parliament, which brought king Charles II. to the throne, and almost run *loyally mad*, severely reproved one of their own members for condemning the proceedings of that parliament, which first took up arms against the former king. And, upon the same principles, that the proceedings of this parliament may be censured as wicked and rebellious, the proceedings of those, who since opposed king James II. and brought the prince of Orange to the throne, may be censured as wicked and rebellious, also.

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* The king, in his coronation oath, swears to exercise only such a power as the constitution gives him; and the subject, in the oath of allegiance, swears only to obey him in the exercise of such a power. The king is as much bound by his oath, not to infringe the legal rights of the people, as the people are bound to yield subjection to him. Whence it follows, that as soon as the prince sets himself above law, he loses the king in the tyrant; and he has then no more right to be obeyed, than any inferior officer who acts beyond his commission. The subject's obligation to obedience then ceases, of course; and to resist him is no more rebellion than to resist any foreign invader.

'But, it may be asked, how came the anniversary of the death of Charles I. to be solemnized as a day of fasting and humiliation? The true answer, in brief, to this inquiry is, that this fast was instituted by way of compliment to Charles II., upon his restoration to the throne. All were desirous of making their court to him, of ingratiating themselves, and of making him forget what had been done in opposition to his father, so as not to revenge it. To effect which, they ran into the most extravagant professions of affection and loyalty to him; insomuch that he is himself reported to have said, 'that it was a mad and hair-brained loyalty, which they possessed.' But they soothed and flattered their new king, at the expense of their own liberties; and were ready to yield up freely to Charles II., all that enormous power, which they had justly resisted Charles I. for usurping to himself.

'It has also been asked, why many of the episcopal clergy *continue* to speak of king Charles I. as a *saint* and a *martyr?* This we know is what they constantly do, especially on the 30th of January—a day rendered holy by them for extolling him, and reproaching all who are not of the established church. 'Out of the same mouth,' on this day, 'proceedeth blessing and cursing.' Therewith they bless their God, even CHARLES; and therewith curse they the dissenters; 'and their tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison.' King Charles is often, on this occasion, compared to our SAVIOR, both as to the holiness of his life, and the greatness and injustice of his sufferings; and it is a wonder they do not add something more: the merits of his death to atone for their sins also. But, '*blessed saint*' and '*royal martyr*,' are as humble titles as any which are thought worthy of him.

'Now this may, at first, appear to be a very strange phenomenon. For king Charles was really a man, *laden with iniquity* and chargeable with many political crimes. He lived a tyrant; and it was the oppression and violence of his reign which brought him to an untimely and violent end at last. Now what of *saintship*, or *martyrdom*, is there in all this? What of saintship is there in encouraging the people to profane the Lord's day? What of saintship, in throwing real saints and glorious patriots into goals? What of saintship, in overturning an excellent civil constitution, and proudly grasping at illegal and absolute power? Is there any such thing as grace without goodness?—as being the disciple of Christ, without learning of him to be just and beneficent?—or, a saintship, without sanctity? If not, I fear it will be hard to prove this man a *saint*? And verily one would be apt to suspect that a *church* must be but poorly stocked with saints and martyrs, which is forced to adopt such *enormous sinners* into her calendar, in order to swell the numbers.

'Is it any wonder that even persons, who do not 'walk after their own lusts,' should scoff at such saints as this? But it may be said, that such things are MYSTERIES, which *lay* understandings cannot comprehend; nor, indeed, any others, except they have taken a trip across the Atlantic, to obtain episcopal ordination, and who are *inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost*. But if these *consecrated* gentlemen do not entirely despair of us, it is hoped they will endeavor to elucidate these dark points; and, at the same time, explain the creed of another of their *eminent saints*, which we are told, that unless we believe *faithfully*, (that is *believingly*,) we cannot be saved: which creed, or rather *riddle*, notwithstanding all the labors of the pious and metaphysical Dr. *Waterland*, remains somewhat *enigmatical* still.

'But to unravel this mystery of *nonsense*, as well as of *iniquity*, which is still working among us; it is to be remembered, that king Charles, though so great a tyrant and oppressor, was a true friend to the church: so good a friend that he was very well affected towards the *Roman Catholics*. This appears by his marrying a French princess, (a papist,) for which he had the dispensation of the Pope, whom he addressed as MOST HOLY FATHER, and SUPREME BISHOP. His queen was extremely bigotted to all the follies and superstitions, and to the hierarchy of Rome, and had an entire ascendency over the king, all his life. It was owing to this, no doubt, that he abetted the massacre of the protestants in Ireland; that he assisted in extirpating the French protestants at Rochelle; that he always encouraged popish priests, in preference to any others; and that he upheld that monster of wickedness, *Archbishop Laud*, and others of the same stamp, in all their church tyranny and cruelty.

'In return for this kindness and indulgence, they caused most of the pulpits in the nation to ring with the divine and absolute, indefeasible right of kings; with the praises of Charles and his reign; and with the damnable sin of opposing the *Lord's anointed*, let him do what he would. So that not *Christ*, but *Charles*, was generally preached to the people. In plain English, there seems to have been an impious bargain struck up, between the *sceptre* and the *surplice*, for enslaving both the *bodies* and *souls* of men.

'The king appeared willing that the clergy should do what they would, provided the clergy would be tools to the crown; that they would make the people believe that kings had authority for breaking God's laws; that they had a commission from heaven to seize the estates and lives of their subjects, at their pleasure. This is the true key to explain the *mysterious* doctrine of king Charles' saintship and martyrdom. He is called a 'saint,' not because he was a *good man*, but a good *churchman;* not because he was a *lover of holiness*, but of the *hierarchy;* not because he was a friend to *Christ*, but to the *craft*. And he was a martyr, in his death, not because he suffered death in the cause of truth and righteousness, but because he was an *enemy to liberty* and the *rights of conscience;* not because he was an enemy to *sin*, but to the *dissenters*.

'For these reasons it is, that all bigoted clergymen and friends to church power, paint this prince as a saint in his life, though he was such a mighty and *royal* sinner; and as a martyr in his death, though he fell a sacrifice only to his own ambition, avarice, and lust of power. And from prostituting their praise on king Charles, it is natural for them to turn to the dissenters, and to load them, as they often do, with unjust censure and reproach, as they are opposed both to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.

'*We* are commonly charged, (on this anniversary,) with the guilt of putting the king to death, under a notion that *our ancestors* did it; and thus *we* are represented, not only as *schismatics*, but as *traitors* and *rebels*. And these *lofty* gentlemen usually rail upon this head in such a manner, as to show that they are either grossly ignorant of the history of those times, or are guilty of the most shameful prevarication, slander and falsehood. But every *petty priest*, with a *roll* and a *gown*, thinks he must do something in imitation of his betters in *lawn*, and show himself a true son of the church; and thus, through a foolish ambition to appear *considerable*, they only render themselves *contemptible*.'

This appears harsh and severe; but the times justified and demanded the exposure of such dangerous doctrines as were advanced by high churchmen. If it were severe, it was not so exceptionable as the sermons of episcopalians, on the occasion; who spoke of king Charles in strains of the most fulsome eulogy; representing him as an eminent saint and a holy martyr, and even comparing him to our Savior himself, for meekness, innocence, and piety. Episcopalians were highly offended at the publication of this discourse, and complained of the writer, though their sentiments and writings had justly provoked it. Some *timid* and *prudent* dissenters disapproved it also; and others considered it too much seasoned with satire for the pulpit. But, generally, the discourse was much admired, as being pertinent, as well as able, and procured the writer the notice of several eminent men in England. The episcopalians in New-England, as well as in the parent kingdom, regarded this anniversary as a sacred day; and took the occasion, not only to dwell on the great injustice done to the king in person, and the outrage, (as they called it,) committed against the crown, but to exalt and glorify episcopacy and monarchy, and to abuse both republicans and puritans. They were as extravagant in lauding the former, as in reproaching and condemning the latter. The discourse of Mr. Mayhew, on this occasion, was justly deemed an able apology for civil liberty, in opposition to the slavish doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, *then* inculcated by some members of the English church, as they had been even in the days of the Stuarts.—Neither this sermon, nor that on the day of General Election, 1754, contained any novel sentiments or principles relating to civil government, nor essentially varying from such as were advanced by the whigs in England, at the revolution of 1688, and as had been asserted by the rulers of Massachusetts from the first settlement of the colony. But the subject was treated by Mayhew, in a very able, and lucid, and popular manner, though with a spice of severity and sarcasm. The first political characters among the laity often commended and referred to the discourse on the death and saintship of king Charles; and the writer was hailed as a fearless and powerful advocate for both civil and religious liberty.*

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* Even James Otis and Samuel Adams quoted him. John Adams speaks of him as one of the master-spirits of his day; as an eminent patriot, and an able, liberal divine. Judge Paine says, he was the Father of civil and religious liberty in Massachusetts and America.

His aged friend, Dr. Benson, of London, seems not entirely to have approved of the spirit or tone of this discourse. He wrote Dr. Mayhew soon after, as follows:—'With your kind letter, I received your 30th January sermon, which I have read. I presume your provocations were many and great; but we find a better temper prevailing here than formerly, with many of the members of the established church, and choose to treat them with *respectful* language, though we do not refrain from arguing against any thing in the establishment, which we believe to be wrong.—By what I have heard of your character and situation, and have seen of your works, I hope God will long spare you for great and extensive usefulness. The door seems to be opened among you, and the people of New-England, for entering into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Let me beseech you to treat those who differ from you with prudence, and love, and a kind spirit. Conquer them in this way, as well as by argument. Such was the temper and character of our blessed Master. Our cause is good; and, among honest and thinking men, will gain ground; provided we exhibit a spirit of meekness, and leave our cause to make its way by the strong arguments in favor of it; and by manifesting the good effects of it on our temper and lives. May the blessings of the everlasting God attend your studies and labors.'

Great and learned men will differ, especially when speaking under the influence of the prejudices of education. Lord Ellenborough said, 'the Athanasian creed was the most beautiful composition which ever flowed from the pen of man.' John Adams said, 'it was the most consummate mass of absurdity, inconsistency, and contradiction, that was ever put together.'

President Adams, in one of his letters, says—'The characters, the most conspicuous, the most ardent, and the most influential, in the early time of the dispute with England, were James Otis, Oxenbridge Thacher, Samuel Adams, In 1754, Dr. Mayhew delivered the sermon, on the day of General Election, before the governor, and the members of the council and house of representatives, in which he spoke with his characteristic frankness and independence, though not with the severity displayed in his discourse on the 30th January, 1750. He stated his views of the nature and design of civil government, as a rational, sober republican, of the present day, would do; and as did many eminent divines in 1770 and 1774. He uttered nothing, indeed, of disapprobation or censure of a limited monarchy, such as then existed in England; and yet it was, as no doubt intended, an able defence of a republican government, which is founded in the will and by the authority of the people, and aims solely to promote their welfare and prosperity. Dr. Mayhew was a sincere, a zealous and intelligent whig. 'Having been initiated,' he says, 'in his youth, in the doctrines of civil liberty, as explained and inculcated by Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients, and such as Sidney, Milton, Locke, and Hoadly,

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John Hancock, Rev. Dr. Mayhew, and Dr. Cooper.' [Mr. Adam's name should be added.] 'Dr. Mayhew had already raised a high reputation, both in Europe and America, by the publication of a volume of seven sermons, in 1749'—(referring to sermons on the right of private judgment, &c.)—'and many other writings; especially a discourse on 30th January, 1750, on the subject of passive obedience and non-resistance—in which the saintship of king Charles I. is considered, seasoned with wit and satire, superior even to Swift or Franklin. It was read by every body—celebrated by friends, and abused by enemies. During the reigns of George I. and II., the principles of the Stuarts were in general disgrace in England, (though since they have found more advocates.) In America, they have always been held in abhorrence. The persecutions suffered by their ancestors, under the Stuarts, had been fully transmitted by tradition and history; and Dr. Mayhew seemed to be raised up to revive all the animosity of the people against tyranny, both in church and state, and, at the same time, to destroy their bigotry, fanaticism, and inconsistency. Hume's plausible, elegant, fascinating, and fallacious apology, in which he varnished over the crimes of the Stuarts, had not then appeared. To draw the character of Mayhew, would be to transcribe a dozen volumes. This transcendent genius threw all the weight of his great fame into the scale of his country, in 1761, and maintained it there till his death, in 1766. After mature investigation, every one must be convinced, that Patrick Henry did not give the *first* impulse to the ball of independence, as Mr. Wirt says; but that Otis, Thacher, Samuel Adams, Hancock, Mayhew, and others, had been laboring, for several years at the wheel, before the name of Henry had been heard beyond the limits of Virginia. I envy none of the well-merited glories of Virginia; but I am jealous, very jealous, of the honor of Massachusetts.'

among the moderns, I approved them—they appeared rational and just: and having also learned, from the holy scriptures, that wise, and brave, and virtuous men were always the friends of liberty; that God gave the Israelites a king, in anger, because they had not sense and virtue enough to like a free commonwealth; and that where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty—I was thus led to conclude that freedom was a great blessing.' Some quotations from this sermon may be necessary to exhibit more fully the views of Dr. Mayhew, on the subject of human government. And it appears suitable to refer to them here, in connexion with his discourse on the death of king Charles I., which has just been quoted.*

'Were one to discourse on this subject,' (the duty of the civil magistrate,) 'before rulers in an arbitrary government, or before unfaithful rulers, even where the constitution is free, there might be a necessity of suppressing or disguising the truth on one hand, or of giving umbrage, on the other. A miserable dilemma! But there can be no necessity of the former, nor any danger of the latter, under such a government as the British, and before such rulers as I now address.

'The notion of any particular form of government explicitly instituted by God, as designed for a universal model; of the divine right of monarchy, in contradistinction from all other modes; of the hereditary, unalienable right of succession; of the despotic, unlimited power of kings, by the immediate grant of heaven, and the like—these notions are not drawn from the holy scriptures, but from a far less pure and sacred fountain. They are only the devices of lawned parasites, or other graceless politicians, to serve the purposes of ambition and tyranny. And though they are of a late date, yet being traced up to their true original, they will be found to come, by 'uninterrupted succession,' from him who was a politican, (though a bad one,) *from the beginning*.'

The institution of civil government for the benefit of mankind, he contends, is agreeable to the will and by the providence of God; but the form such as men may prefer and ordain: and that the end, proposed by all just government, is the improvement and welfare of society. 'We cannot imagine it possible,' he adds, 'that he, who is good to all, and is no respecter of persons, should exalt a few persons to power over all others, to be their oppressors; or that they may amass riches, live in ease and luxury, and receive the homage of millions, without doing them any good? It were blasphemous to suppose God has instituted government for such a partial, unworthy end. God is too good to ordain it for any other purpose than the security and happiness of his creatures; and men love themselves too well to choose it with any other design. Whether, then, civil government be ordained by God, or formed by man, the end is the same.

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* Another discourse by Dr. Mayhew, viz. on the repeal of the stamp act, in 1766, which is of a political character also, will be noticed hereafter.

'I shall only add here, that, as the happiness of men in society depends chiefly upon the goodness of their morals, and as morals have a close connexion with religion,* the latter, as well as the former, ought doubtless to be encouraged by the civil magistrate; not only by his own pious life and good example, but by his laws, as far as consistent with the natural, unalienable rights of conscience.† Protection is, in justice, due to all persons, whose religion does not directly or manifestly tend to the subversion of the government. And a general toleration, with this sole exception, is so far from being pernicious to society, that it greatly promotes the good of it, in many respects. Persecution and intolerance are not only unjust and criminal in the sight of God, but they also cramp, enfeeble, and diminish the state. Nor, indeed, can it be doubted, but that the interest of true religion has been greatly prejudiced by that notion which has so generally prevailed in christendom, from the days of Constantine; I mean, that kings could not be nursing fathers, nor queens nursing mothers to the church, unless they suckled her with human blood, and fed her with the flesh of those whom angry ecclesiastics are pleased to stigmatize with the names of heretics, schismatics, and infidels.

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* General Washington insists on this connexion as most important to the happiness of society, in his farewell address to the people of the United States.

† Provision may justly be made by human laws for the support of religious institutions, without that union of church and state, which we all justly dread. The rulers of Massachusetts have so always believed.

'To a generous mind, the public good, as it is the end of government, so it is also such a noble and excellent one, that the prospect of attaining it will animate to the pursuit; and being attained, it will reward all the pains and efforts used. Though the name of patriotism is ridiculed by some, and there are hypocrites in politics as well as in religion, the love of our country is a generous and virtuous sentiment. Is there a Christian, who is required to love all men, and to do good to all, as he may have an opportunity; is there a Christian, who does not love even his brethren, the members of the same body with himself? Is there a Christian, who is void of all generous regard for his country's welfare? Is there one who is not desirous of seeing it in a prosperous condition? Such an one, though only a private character, would be a reproach not only to his religion, but to our common nature, depraved as it is. But much more infamous would it be in persons of a public character and station.

'Besides, people are not usually so blind and insensible, as not to know when they are well governed; nor so ungrateful as not to acknowledge it, and to requite their benefactors agreeably to their merits. History scarcely affords an example of a people, ruled with prudence, justice and due clemency, but who loved and honored their rulers; but who requited their paternal care and goodness while living, and reverenced their memory when dead. And how much more desirable is this, than for them to have their ears filled with cries, complaints, and murmurings? How much more eligible is it to live esteemed, and to have their names transmitted with honor to posterity, than to be the objects of public hatred, as being task-makers, instead of fathers; and to leave no remembrance behind them, but of their selfishness and injustice, their unfaithfulness and oppressions?

'It is to be desired, also, that legislators would consider how much their *posterity* may be affected by their conduct and counsels. The effect of public measures and proceedings, whether good or bad, is not so transient as some may suppose. Even remote generations often feel the consequences of them. By wise and good laws, and by proper conduct in other respects, the rulers of a people lay a foundation, by God's blessing, not only for the welfare of the present generation, but for the prosperity of those who are to come after.*

'The doctrine, that rulers are God's ministers, and clothed with authority delegated from him, has far too often been made much use of, as a topic of compliment and adulation, in order to sooth them, and to puff them up with vain imaginations of their own importance. And so successful have the servile flatterers and adorers of princes sometimes been in the use of it, as to make themselves almost literally to be gods; and to think their subjects scarce better than *brutes*, made only for their lordly service. That their station denotes dignity, and the honor they may justly expect, no one can doubt. But the grand inference, which they themselves should draw from it, is that they should strive to imitate the impartial justice, and unwearied goodness of God, whose servants and ministers they are; and exercise the power which his providence has given them, to the benevolent end for which it was bestowed.'

This discourse was considered highly creditable to the talents and learning of so young a man as Dr. Mayhew then was—being only thirty-four; and it was evidence of his correct and enlarged views of the nature of civil government—then not so well or generally understood, as at present—as well as of his ardent patriotism, and of his strong desire of preserving the liberties of his country. He gave proof, by this discourse, that he had thus early studied other subjects than those closely connected with theology; and that he was able to defend the cause of civil, as well as of religious liberty. It is true, the controversy had not then arisen, as to the extent of the power of the British parliament over the colonies; and governor Shirley was a popular magistrate, and gave no offence by assuming or claiming authority, without leave of the General Court. It was a period, too, of great public concern, relating to the war with France, whose power was very great in Canada.*

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* This was remarkably true of our pious and worthy ancestors, who settled New-England; and of those who lived and guided our public affairs in 1750-1775. Alas, how little of this generous, disinterested spirit now prevails! The character of our present politicians is far more justly described, as ambitious, selfish, and utterly regardless of the future.

From this period, the ability of Dr. Mayhew, as a writer, and his character, as a firm friend and advocate of free republican government, placed him in the first class of clergymen in Massachusetts, and as far superior to all others of his years. Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, was probably a man of more extensive and general learning than Mayhew, as he was several years older. Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, and Rev. Samuel Cooper,† were nearly of the same age with Mayhew; but they were less independent, or less ardent in the cause of religious freedom, though still its sincere friends; and, at a later period, the firm and open supporters of civil liberty.

Other discourses, of a political character, were published by Dr. Mayhew, a few years later, but not on occasions of such interest as to require particular examination, or large extracts, in order to exhibit his views as to great and fundamental principles in politics or government. They were all written in his peculiar manner of strength and clearness; and discovered his extensive reading and general knowledge of the political affairs of Europe, especially of England, at that time and for a long period previous.‡

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* Mr. Shirley was appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1741, as successor to governor Belcher, by George II. He was a native of England, but had resided several years in Boston, and was an eminent lawyer. He had the character of a good scholar; one fond of cultivating letters; and an able, elegant writer. An elaborate account of the expedition and capture of Louisburg, was published by him. His approbation of Dr. Mayhew's political sentiments expressed in his election sermon, May 1754, indicates perhaps his own political views in a great measure. He was a whig on the great principles of the glorious revolution of 1688, when the Stuart dynasty was terminated, and British liberty better explained and more firmly established. Gov. Shirley was in Europe from 1749 to 1754, on public business, by order of the British government, as a Commissioner, for settling the bounds of the territory between France and England.

† I shall have occasion to speak more fully of these eminent men in another place.

‡ The discourses on the capture of Quebec, 1759, and on the reduction of Canada in 1760, are able and interesting; but it is not thought necessary to quote them. He refers to the frequent alarms and great danger existing, while Canada was in possession of the French; especially to the New-England prov-

One of these was on the death of the prince of Wales, son of George II. and father of George III., delivered in May, 1751;* two thanksgiving sermons in 1758, relating particu-

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inces, and of the blood and treasure expended in wars with French and Indians in that quarter; and shows the great benefit to arise both to the colonies and Great Britain, by wresting that part of North America from the power of France. He says, 'that one happy consequence of this event would probably be, to check the prevalence of popery, with its vain ceremonies and corrupt doctrines; and that Christianity, long obscured and disgraced by the additions which human pride, human folly and wickedness have made to it, shall at length be restored to its primitive simplicity, beauty and glory; and thus become a blessing and a praise in the whole earth.'

* The text was, 'It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes.' Some extracts may be proper, though not of such extent as might be acceptable, for their propriety. 'If the best of princes are weak and imperfect, and may not be relied on implicitly, what shall we say of the worst, or of most who have ruled among men? There have been many who could not be trusted at all; perfidious, cruel, despotic, unrighteous characters; whose power has been employed for destruction, and not for salvation; for bringing misery and ruin on their subjects, instead of promoting their welfare and happiness. Nor has our nation been wholly free from them; though, God be praised, it has now been for several years.—Have there not been kings on the throne of England, who have impiously violated their solemn oaths and promises to their people?—who have robbed their subjects of their substance and their rights, by laying taxes on them in an illegal manner?—who have kept up the most arbitrary and iniquitous courts?—who have corrupted lawyers and judges, to uphold themselves and their courtiers in their oppressive and unrighteous measures?—who have encouraged persecutions for religion?—who attempted to take away all our civil and sacred privileges, and introduce popery and arbitrary rule among a free people?—who were for governing, not by standing laws, but by standing armies?—under whose administration no one's conscience, or money, or life could be secure for a single day? Surely, the names of Charles and James are not forgotten; nor that there was once a royal house of Stuart. One might almost venture to assert, that it were better to trust even in 'the prince of the power of the air,' than in some human princes recorded in history.'—He spoke of Frederick, prince of Wales, as respectable for talents, of correct moral conduct, and a patron of learning and the arts. But he is cautious of using the style of high panegyric—observing, that 'a small stock of real merit will go a great way in persons of high birth and distinction; especially in those who have a *crown* in possession or reversion. A small share of good sense is enough to gain a candidate for empire the reputation of great wisdom; and Solomon is sometimes robbed of his name to grace half-fools and idiots. So a little piety or virtue are sufficient to procure for persons, in the higher classes of life, the character of excellent men, and even of *saints;* while eminent goodness among the vulgar and middling class of people, passes wholly unnoticed, or without its due praise.—This prince had a just abhorrence of popery and arbitrary government, as being both of them contrary to reason and Christianity, inconsistent with the natural rights of mankind, and the happiness of human society. His own good sense, no doubt, suggested to him the impiety of such a religion, and the injustice of such a government; and attached him to the protestant interest, and to such a limited monarchy as that

larly to the success of his majesty's arms, and of the king of Prussia; one on the capture of Quebec, by the British and American troops, under Gen. Wolf, 1759, (already referred to above); one on the reduction of the whole of Canada to the British empire, 1760; and one on the death of king George II. and the accession of George III., his grandson, to the throne of England.*

In the sermon on the death of George II., Dr. Mayhew manifested a truly loyal spirit, and a strong attachment to the principles of constitutional liberty, by the influence of which, that protestant family received the crown of Great Britain. He took occasion, however, to refer to the arbitrary reigns of the several kings of the house of Stuart, in expressing his abhorrence of despotic governments.

'Let me remind you,' he says, 'that after the death of queen Elizabeth, the glory of whose reign, otherwise truly great, was obscured and tarnished by religious persecution, it pleased God, doubtless for the sins of the nation, to raise four princes successively to the throne, whose reigns were all inglorious, and one of them infamous to the last degree—princes of great pride and vanity, of arbitrary notions and practices, of little wisdom or discretion, and still less of truth and honor—princes who were always the dupes of our ancient and dangerous enemies, the French, of Jesuits, and popish ministers—princes who disgraced the nation abroad, and were sore visitations of divine providence upon it.

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of England now is. And it is probable he was the more settled in these glorious principles of a free government and free religion, by reflecting on his descent from an illustrious house, the patrons and bulwark of liberty, from the beginning of the reformation. This reformation, it is said, he was desirous of seeing carried to greater perfection, and nearer to the primitive christian model; and was the promoter of a late proposal for a *review*, in order to altering and amending those numerous things in the national church, which have long been grievous, not only to non-conformists, but to a great number of the best and wisest men of the established religion.'

* Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Appleton, Dr. Eliot, Dr. Cooper, and others, published sermons, also, on these several occasions; as well to give useful historical and political information to their people, as to excite pious gratitude and religious trust in the providence of God, and to cherish a proper sense of civil and religious liberty.

'The last of these four kings, whom the Most High gave us in anger, (James II.) was an open, professed *Roman Catholic*, who stuck at no measures, in order to introduce the religion of Rome, to despoil the British nation of its ancient liberties, and to entail upon it the two-fold curse of popery and slavery; which have, indeed, a close connexion with one another.'

He thus speaks of king George II.—'He is said to have been well versed in history, especially that of Europe; and to have had a thorough understanding of the political interests and connexions of all the kingdoms and states therein: and without which, it would have been impossible for him to maintain his character, as the chief bulwark of its liberties and of the protestant religion, as he naturally was. Nor could he fail to reap great advantage from the political maxims, and the example of so wise a king as his royal father. And, like him, he was what may be properly called a *constitutional* king: one who well knew the extent of his own prerogative and the rights of the people; one who made the laws the rule of his government: and it should be remembered, that the British *laws* are so wise, that he who makes them the guide of his administration, must be a good king.

'He appeared, throughout his reign, to have the true interest and welfare of Great Britain at heart: knowing that kings, especially British kings, are made for the people, and not the people for the king. He was also a friend of learning and commerce; which never, I suppose, flourished so much in Great Britain, as under his auspicious reign.

'His majesty was a sincere protestant; and, as such, was a friend to toleration and to religious liberty, which cannot be violated without violating the *natural* rights of mankind. He did not affect, as *defender of the faith*, to make his own opinion a rule to his subjects, or to tyrannize over their consciences. Nor did he, as *head of the church* by law established in England, endeavor to destroy the church established by law in Scotland, nor desire to distress any of his good protestant subjects, who might, in some respects, dissent from them both. Some legal hardships these latter might indeed be subjected to; which there is reason to think a prince, of so much equity and goodness, was far from being pleased with, and would have been glad to see wholly removed.

'Happy had it been for the British nation, if all his predecessors on the throne had been of such generous and liberal principles. The true church of Christ needs not to have her faith defended by any other weapons than those of sober reason and argument, unless it be against those who attack it with carnal ones. Indeed, wicked men and hypocrites can hardly ever think *their church* secure, unless some other sword besides that of the spirit, is drawn in her defence. Though she have kings for her nursing fathers, and queens for her nursing mothers, though she be rocked in a princely cradle, and sweetly charmed to repose by royal lullabies, yet so perverse are some of her children that they cannot rest, unless others, out of her pale, are put upon the rack, or otherwise harassed with penal laws. But, blessed be God, all our royal defenders of the faith, since James II., have been content to be nursing fathers to the church, by preserving the public peace, toleration and liberty of conscience; the happy effects of which are apparent in many respects. And, considering the known justice and moderation of the house of Hanover, and of other eminent and distinguished personages in church and state, we need not despair of seeing the time, when all good protestants and loyal subjects shall have their share in the honors and emoluments of the state, without being subjected to any narrow-spirited and injurious tests.'

In the sermons on the success of the British and Prussian arms, delivered on a thanksgiving day, 1758, he speaks with approbation, generally, of the policy of the English government, then pursued. 'Of this free government, and of its laws, which, next to the gospel, may justly be termed 'the laws of liberty,' his present majesty has always been a steady defender; being a true protestant and a friend to the *natural rights* of mankind, especially those of his own subjects. For this reason, it should be considered as a great favor of heaven on the nation, that his life has been so long lengthened out.

'It were next to madness to suppose that the nation would ever be safe and happy under a Roman Catholic prince; for such a monarch would think himself too much restrained by the *laws* of England: and, looking on them as an infringement of his *royal* prerogative and dignity, he would of course make frequent infractions on them. Facts and experience are not wanting to confirm this observation. The nation has formerly had melancholy experience of its truth, in at least two of the Stuart family; whose arbitrary principles and conduct, naturally connected with their religion, fully proved that one of the greatest curses heaven can send on Great Britain, is a Roman Catholic king. While such a prince reigns, the fundamental laws of the kingdom are no security to the subject, either with respect to liberty or property, religion or life; unless it be to popish subjects; who, indeed, may live and flourish under that baleful influence which blasts all good men. And if God, in his good providence, had not delivered the nation from the contemptible, though royal race, above mentioned, it is probable that we should, at the present time, have been groaning under the iron sceptre of a confirmed, lawless despotism, and the antichristian yoke of religious persecution. * * * *

'But I must not finish my reflections without cautioning you not to abuse or pervert the design of our religious liberty, by affronting and contemning all religion, and living without God in the world. A man 'who throws firebrands, arrows, and death,' and thinks to vindicate such destructive sport, by saying he is a free-born Britain, has no proper idea of British liberty, but must be accounted a *madman.* And mad, at least in the same degree, is any man, who sports with his Maker, and with religion, under the like pretence. I say, at least, because the laws forbid impiety, and irreverence to God, as truly as they do burning our neighbor's house, or murder.* So that the great freedom, even of the British government, were that the only thing to be considered, is no just excuse for irreligion and impiety.

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* Yet some great philosophers and politicians, of modern times, pretend it is of no importance what are a man's religious opinions, even to the denial of the existence of God—or the belief in a thousand!

And yet I have no great opinion of enforcing religion by human laws, any further than to keep men from injuring and destroying one another, (if that may be called religion;) it being evident that such laws have very little, if any good effect.

'Take heed, then, that you do not abuse your religious liberty; and throw not conscience aside, because you have *liberty* of conscience. For though you live under a free government—yea, which is much more, though 'Christ has made us free' from every yoke of bondage—you ought to live in the faith and fear of God, and in obedience to his commands, under a sense of your being accountable to him; remembering the apostle's admonition—'as free, yet not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king.' In short, the true and only use we should make of our religious liberty is this—to exercise it in a free, impartial, and serious inquiry into religion, 'that we may learn what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God;' and, having found what that is, to practise agreeably to it; to worship God, and serve him, in holiness and righteousness, according to his word, without regarding what are the vulgar, prevailing opinions and practices, which are often incorrect and wrong.'*

It may not be irrelevant to give here some letters and extracts of letters, to Dr. Mayhew, referring to the discourses which we have just noticed and quoted.

Extract of a letter to Dr. Mayhew, from Rev. Dr. George Benson, dated London, April 16, 1754.

'When Mr. Walker [Rev. Timothy Walker, of New-Hampshire] brought me your kind letter, I kept my bed with a disorder which threatened my life, and from which I am now slowly recovering. I am sorry to hear that your constitution is so infirm;[*] and heartily pray God to restore you to perfect health, and long to continue and increase your usefulness.

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*'I here take it for granted, that every sincere inquirer will be led to believe the gospel, according to what our Lord has said—'If any man will do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.''

'Mr. Taylor's Concordance, (vol. 1,) is soon to be published. The christian world has great expectation from it. The answers to Mr. Taylor's book on the atonement of Christ, are very trifling, empty performances, and not worth the reading or inquiring after. My principal objection to Mr. Taylor's performance, is, as I have often told him, that one part of it is not consistent with another part. If about half a dozen pages, or leaves, were left out, the remainder would please me. But, in the pages which I would leave out, the language and sentiments coincide too much with the *popular* way of talking on that subject. If you publish on the subject, I shall be happy to see your thoughts at large. But it does not appear to me a subject of much difficulty.[†]

'I have just received the dedication and preface of Mr. Taylor's Concordance; and have ordered your name to be printed in the list of subscribers. Dr. Lardner, though in his seventy-first year, goes on to write, and has another volume of his Credibility of the Gospel History just coming from the press. He has been deaf some years; and he does not now consent to preach on any occasion. We have attempted to procure, for my assistant, a young man of *free* sentiments and promising talents; but we have not yet succeeded; and the whole, at present, rests upon me. But I cannot expect to be able to go through with it much longer.

'I am sorry so few stand by you in promoting truth and liberty. But let us not desert our station, so long as we are able to continue in it. Our Lord and his apostles met with far worse treatment than we do: but they persevered, and the event was glorious. *The name of Dr. Mayhew may be precious in New-England, when he is in his grave, and*

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[*] Dr. Mayhew was quite an invalid at this period, as appears by letters to his father and brothers; owing, probably, to very intense mental application.

[†] Dr. Mayhew published nothing *directly* on the atonement: yet, in his sermons on 'the extent of the divine goodness,' on 'striving to enter into the strait gate,' and in most of his writings, it is evident that he was opposed to the calvinistic doctrine. He professed, however, to believe it, in a certain, qualified sense.

the names of his bigoted opposers are buried in oblivion. Truth and liberty may make a slower progress than we might wish; but they will spread, they will prevail; and blessed is he who is not offended nor discouraged in adhering to them, and doing all in his power to promote the extension of them. May the blessing of God attend your studies and labors, and crown them with abundant success.

'I am, with high esteem of your character,
'Your sincerely affectionate brother,
'GEORGE BENSON.

'P. S. Dr. Foster is no more. He died in November last; and had been epileptic for a year or two before his death.—I have a disorder in my eyes, which renders reading less agreeable. This, indeed, is to me the greatest affliction I ever met with. But I am in the hands of perfect wisdom and goodness; and all, in his hands, must *end well.*'

From the same, dated London, August 17, 1754.

'My indisposition prevented my having much of Mr. Walker's company; but by what I saw and heard, he appeared to answer the character which you gave of him. Pray, when you see him, or write to him, give my respects to him; and let him know that I think of him with pleasure, and esteem for him.

'Mr. Hampton is the dissenting minister of Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and a very good sort of a man. Besides the answer which was published, private letters passed between him and Mr. Taylor.* Mr. Taylor has told me that they differed but in one point, viz.: that when God is angry with men, he must manifest his resentment some way or other—either upon the criminals, or on some other persons.† But his expressing it, in his treatment of an innocent person, is that about which Mr. Taylor hesitates. He will not answer any of his antagonists; as not apprehending that they have any solid arguments in them, or deserve any regard. The other answers are effusions of nonsense and fury.

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* Probably on Mr. Taylor's treatise on the atonement.

† Is not all this gratuitous, and without support from sound reason, or scripture? We cannot say what God *must* do, in pardoning sin.

'I sent your present to Dr. Lardner; and we thank you for your presents to us both. I have sent you a copy of my pamphlet on the resurrection of Christ, lately published; and shall be glad to know if you any where hesitate concerning what I have said on the subject.'

In continuation:—'My health is greatly impaired, so that I am obliged to suspend my studies, at present. And, what adds greatly to my calamities, my dear companion and faithful friend—my wife—lies dead in the house. But I can say no more upon so tender and interesting a subject. God prepare me to follow her to a state of rest, and freedom from all evil, and to complete, everlasting felicity. And then these light and momentary afflictions will all be swallowed up in perfect oblivion. There it will be a pleasure to meet Dr. Mayhew, and my other learned and esteemed friends. In the mean time, may God prosper your studies and labors. I bid you most heartily farewell.

'I am, with true esteem for you,
'Your sincerely affectionate brother.

'P. S. Dr. Lardner has desired me to let you know that he sent you a copy of his volume of sermons, two years ago, and has not heard whether you ever received it.—Your sermon* is an excellent one, and has much pleased Dr. Lardner and myself. The natives with you seem to hold to one Supreme Being; the difference between moral good and evil; that God now regards the actions of men, and that there is a future state of rewards and punishments. Are not these more just notions than some Christians, and even protestants, hold? Mr. Sargent appears to me to have been the most rational missionary I ever heard of. His baptismal creed, in general, is good; and his so strongly holding the necessity of a holy, virtuous life, which he inculcates so much, and which I look upon as the great end of all, makes me love his memory. The accounts which I have read, of the conduct and success of other missionaries, have commonly abounded with idle, enthusiastic notions.

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*Probably his election sermon, May, 1754; in which he took occasion to speak of the importance of reducing Canada, so that protestant, instead of Roman Catholic priests, might be employed among the Indians.

'We have now with us two ministers, viz., Davis, of Virginia, and ———, of Pennsylvania, soliciting money for a college in New-Jersey. I find I differ in sentiment from them very much. But I have taken pains to enlarge their notions of liberty and charity, which appear to me greatly confined. They are diligent and *dexterous* men, and have had great success. I hope such a seminary of learning will turn out, at last, to the interest of learning and religion, though their views at present seem not to be sufficiently extensive.'

Another letter from Dr. Benson, may be added here, though the connexion might render it more pertinent a little later, when referring to his sermons on 'hearing and receiving the preached word.' It is dated, London, February 12, 1757.

'Dear Sir,—I find you have received the first volume of Dr. Taylor's Hebrew Concordance. The two volumes are a guinea and an half. Mr. Samuel Vaughan, who, with his family, comes to hear me, sends you the second volume. The print of Dr. Taylor sells for two shillings, and is a very good one. But to his subscribers he sells it for one shilling; and Mr. Vaughan has paid that for you, and there is nothing more due. You could not now have a copy of the Hebrew Concordance under three guineas and a half, in sheets. As Dr. Taylor has published a Hebrew Grammar with his Concordance, I have not sent you any other; for I think you will not need one. When you have made considerable proficiency, you will probably choose to have Guarini Grammatica Heb. It is considered a critical, judicious performance.*

'I thank you heartily for your volume of excellent sermons,† which I have read with great pleasure. An edition has been printed here. I prevented one attempt of the kind; and would have prevented this also, till you had been consulted. But this was done without my knowledge. And our booksellers are a *rapacious* set of men, who look upon every thing as their own property, which they can lay their hands on.

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* Dr. Mayhew was then probably studying the Hebrew language.

† These were on hearing the word with meekness, &c., a volume of seven sermons.

'I do not wonder that several expressions, in your volume of sermons lately published, and especially in the notes,* should displease. Neither you nor I can write any thing which will please persons of that spirit. I have, several years ago, drawn out all the texts in the gospels, and in the Acts of the apostles, concerning the *Spirit;* and that with a view to inquire, 'whether they do not all relate to the miraculous gifts granted to the apostles and other Christians of that age.' But such an inquiry cannot pass, even with the friends of liberty here, much less with the sons of orthodoxy. They rail against me in private; they preach against me; they write against me—though my treatise has got no further than short hand, and has laid nearly twenty years in my desk, where I suppose it must be. I have neither leisure nor any inclination to go through the epistles and revelation, till I see a better spirit. I hope, when I am dead, a better spirit will arise; and every honest and free inquiry, at least be read and examined. May the blessing of God attend your honest and faithful labors. A few such persons in every community—firm, faithful to one another—would shake the foundations of *orthodoxy,* and make primitive Christianity to arise in its genuine purity.—May God send us a happy meeting in the glorious realms of liberty, truth, peace, and love.'

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* The purport of one of the notes was, 'that he had always wondered that Solomon's *Songs* were included in the sacred canon, and not the book of the *Wisdom* of Solomon; and that he could not account for it, but on the supposition that people generally preferred *songs* to *wisdom.*' The other was a long note on the subject of the *trinity;* in which he says—'Indeed, some, who call themselves Christians, have exalted the Virgin Mary above all that is called God in heaven, and that is worshipped there; saying, that she is more kind and merciful than God himself; and praying to her to *command* her son to befriend them, styling her the *mother of God;* and it would be no surprise to me to hear that the Pope and a general council had declared the blessed Virgin to be the *fourth,* or rather the *first* person in the godhead, under the title of *God,* or *Goddess* the MOTHER; and adding, that neither the *persons* are to be

CHAPTER IV.

Discourses on hearing the word, and receiving it with meekness—On earthquakes, (including his sermons from Psalms cxix. 59, 60, published in 1760, but preached some time before)—Letters from sundry persons, on the former, &c.—His marriage—Sermon on the death of Chief Justice Sewall.

Dr. Mayhew published a volume of sermons, in 1755, which were as able and interesting as his discourses on the right and wrong in morals, and on the right and duty of private judgment. These discourses are on hearing the word preached, and receiving it with meekness. They are of a practical nature, but they discover the peculiar talents of the writer, in giving new and striking views of the subject, and close and ingenious arguments in favor of a careful attention to divine truths. He also gave his views, in these sermons, on most points in christian theology; and, both in sentiments and phraseology, they differed much from the popular system then considered *orthodox*. He expressed his own opinions with much plainness, and stated his objections to the leading doctrines of calvinism. He used no disguise, and some of his timid friends said, no prudence. One sees in them the frankness and independence displayed

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confounded, nor the *substance* divided: that the Mother is eternal, the Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal; but yet that there are not four eternals, but *one* eternal—that this is the catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved. *He who hath an ear to hear, let him hear.* And he who hath a *mouth* given him to *blaspheme*, and a *tongue* to *babble*, without ideas, (understanding not what he says, nor whereof he affirms,) let him *blaspheme* and *babble*. But neither papists nor protestants should imagine that they will be understood by others, if they do not understand *themselves*. Nor should they think that *nonsense* and contradictions can ever be too sacred to be *ridiculous*.'

in his other writings, and in his whole conduct and profession through life.

The subjects of these discourses are, the duty of attending on the preaching of the gospel—receiving it with meekness and docility—the necessity of renouncing all known and habitual sin, in order to hear the gospel with profit and improvement—of obeying the gospel, or of being *doers* as well as *hearers* of the word—and the common mistakes and misconceptions of the terms of salvation by Christ, especially as to salvation by grace, the righteousness of Christ, and justification by faith. The great design of Dr. Mayhew, in these discourses, was to show that the gospel was a 'doctrine according to godliness' and sound morality; requiring and promoting personal holiness, sincere and habitual conformity to the will and laws of God—that evangelical obedience, and the true christian character, though founded in faith in the promises of the gospel and of divine grace thereby, and in acknowledgment of Christ as a divine teacher, required deep and heartfelt repentance, piety and obedience to God, and love and benevolence to men—that the gospel had its proper effect only in so far as it renewed and sanctified the affections, and regulated the external conduct, by its pure and holy precepts: and that without such influence and effect of our faith in the gospel, all professions, experiences, and pretended reliance on Christ, were vain, unscriptural and presumptuous.

I might quote largely from these most rational, evangelical and experimental discourses, to illustrate the views of Dr. Mayhew of the christian religion, and to show his sentiments on these highly important topics; but a few extracts must suffice. In his dedication of the volume to his church and congregation, he observes:

'These discourses were written and preached with a sincere desire to serve you in your most important interests; to assist you in understanding some of the doctrines, and to excite you to practice all the duties of the gospel. With the same view they are now published. I hope they will not be useless to you; nor, indeed, to any who may read them with a christian spirit, instead of an anti-christian, illiberal spirit of captiousness and party.

'The doctrinal sentiments running through them are such as I have been led to and confirmed in by a careful perusal of the holy scriptures, without a zealous attachment to, or prejudice against, the opinions of others. However, I pretend not to be exempt from mistakes. There may be errors in these discourses. If there are, I am very sorry; and desirous that those who read, may discover and avoid them. And if some one wiser than myself will point them out to me, he will make me his debtor; especially if he shall do it in a spirit of charity and meekness.

'If there are any dangerous errors in these discourses, I venture to say they are not disguised by any kind of artifice. They do not just *peep* through the mask of studied, equivocal and ambiguous phrases; nor *skulk* in the dark, as it were, from a consciousness of what they are, and *a fear* of being detected. They appear in open daylight, in all their naked boldness of truth and innocence. For I have conceived that the end of speaking, especially of preaching, is to express, not to disguise, a man's real sentiments: though I know that I herein differ from *many* of my own order! This will be a great ease and advantage to any person, who may bring a charge of *heresy* against me; and undertake to convict me of it, either publicly or *privately.* But you are sensible, my brethren, that there is a difference between railing and reasoning; and, consequently, between a man's being scolded at, and refuted. I wish some *other* people also knew this. But I must now declare, once for all, that I will not be, even *religiously* scolded, nor pitied, nor whipt out of any principles or doctrines, which I believe on the authority of scripture, in the exercise of that small share of reason which God has given me: nor will I postpone this authority to that of all the good fathers of the church, even with that of the good *mothers* added to it.*

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* Dr. Mayhew was early attacked for heresy, openly by some, and secretly and timidly by others. He used no disguise, and no equivocal phrases; and, by a careful perusal of the Bible, and a proper use of reason in comparing and interpreting different parts of it, he became decidedly opposed to the peculiar doctrines of Calvin and of Athanasius, as being both irrational and unscriptural;

'The only favor I ask of you, my brethren, and of others who may read these discourses, is, that you and they would do it with an unprejudiced mind: and then either reject, or believe and practice, according to the light and conviction of your own consciences. Religion is a matter of too great importance to be lightly thought of: it demands your first and last attention. And as I hope you are all too sensible of common human frailty, to be uncharitable bigots and party men in religion, so I hope you are too wise to be sceptics—the two extremes, into which weak and wicked men often run; sometimes, indeed, out of the one directly into the other, without stopping at the golden medium.

'You have the first title, my brethren, to my warmest good wishes and my prayers, by virtue of the relation in which I stand to you. These wishes and prayers are that you may know the truth, as it is in Jesus; and finally partake of that blessed life and glorious immortality, brought to light by him through the gospel!'

In this series of discourses, Dr. Mayhew earnestly urges the duty and importance of public worship, and of regular religious instruction, as was the practice in christian communities; and as necessary that the great body of the people may be enlightened and improved. All, of every age and character, need often to be reminded of their duty, though they have been already instructed in the great doctrines of the gospel; and without these stated means of instruction, and admonition, he insists that society would soon deteriorate, and religion and piety in a great measure become extinct.

and he was too honest to disguise his sentiments, or to withhold the full and clear expression of them, on subjects of vital importance to the religious character and the salvation of men—no matter how venerable from antiquity, or formidable from numbers, the system, called orthodox, was. He was resolved to oppose error of every kind, and in every form; and to contend for the *true* gospel and the *true* faith of Christ. Some *scolded*, some *pitied*, some *railed*, and some *denounced* him. But he held on his high course; building his faith, 'not on man, nor on men,' but on 'the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone.' Even his good father expressed his fears that he departed too far from the popular creed; and some, who believed as he did, thought he was not sufficiently guarded and *prudent*. I have before given a part of one of his letters to his father, in which he expresses his regret that he differed from him in some of his theological sentiments.

He also insists on a docile and serious disposition in hearing the gospel preached; and a spirit of inquiry and reflection, that we may understand and judge of what we hear declared as divine truth—a consideration worthy of attention by all.—'When we hear the gospel preached by fallible men, we should do it with caution, and not with tameness and servility, which lead some to swallow every thing they hear from the pulpit, right or wrong. There is a wide difference betwixt a vain and carping humor, and an easy credulity; betwixt the spirit of cavilling, and that of implicit believing.

'As we are Christians, the inspired scriptures are our only rule of faith and conduct. Therein indeed we should read with implicit faith and submission, using our best judgment as to their true sense and meaning. On our principles, there is no room for objecting or doubting, when we are convinced what are the doctrines of the bible. But many teachers, exclusive of those of a well-known church which gives herself the courteous title of *infallible*, approach very near to the same arrogance and presumption: putting themselves on the same footing with Moses and the prophets, with Christ and the apostles. Yea, I wish they had not in effect assumed greater authority than they allowed to Moses and to Christ; as though the servant were above his Lord, and greater or wiser than his master. For why else, in the name of God, do they disparage the holy scriptures, by representing them as an *insufficient* rule of faith and test of *orthodoxy*. Why do they *practically* deny them to be the only standard of christian verity, by *cramming* us with creeds, and such like trumpery? Why is all this lumber of confessions and formularies laid upon us? A load which we are not able to bear; and which others, perhaps, would not have been, had they not originally been *beasts of burthen*. Why else are we told by some, that besides believing the oracles of God, we must, before we can be *orthodox*, believe their oracles? Why else do many of our pulpit performers demand as great deference to be paid to their *dogmas* as to the *sacred* writings, given confessedly by inspiration of God? The very same humility and meekness, with which we ought to receive the doctrines of the gospel, require us to guard against the errors and delusions of designing or mistaken men; lest we come at length to have *another gospel;* a system of religion, in the general frame and tendency of it, entirely different from that taught by Christ and his apostles. And is there not now in the world '*another gospel?*' A religion, which, though it bears the name of Christian, does not in reality, so much resemble true, primitive Christianity, as it does ancient paganism? And whence sprang those amazing corruptions, but from weak *credulity*, or a *blind* submission to the clergy?

'If we would receive the word with due meekness, and with that reverence which is proper, as it is the word of God, we should always make a wide difference between the scriptures of truth, and the doctrines and explanations of men. That which God has really revealed, *cannot* mislead us; the words of men *may*. In reverence to the former, we ought to exercise caution with regard to the latter; and, with the noble *Bereans*, to search the scriptures, whether the things we hear preached, be conformable to them or not. 'Turn not aside to vain rangling, and opposition of science, falsely so called;' nor to slavish submission, or papal stupidity. Be men, be Christians, be *protestants*. Use the understanding which God has given you, in seeking to learn his will. Reverence the revelation he has granted you. Exercise your reason, and the liberty you enjoy, in learning the truth and your duty from it. Make use of all proper helps, in order to gain a right understanding of this revelation; but submit yourselves blindly to none; lest they should teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and thus mislead, corrupt, and destroy you.'

But this may be said to be common-place. It is so, in a great measure, at present. But it was not such seventy years ago. It required more than a common share of independence, to speak, preach, and write as Dr. Mayhew did. He might have had less *prudence* than some of his contemporaries; but he evidently had more *honesty*—or his faithful examination of scripture led him to different views of the gospel, from most men of his day.

It was easy, indeed, to talk of christian liberty, and of protestantism, the right of private judgment, and the sufficiency and the supreme authority of scripture in matters of religion; but comparatively *few* dared to differ from the majority, or had more regard for christian truth than for a good reputation with those called orthodox. They were too indolent to examine, and to form an opinion for themselves; or too timid to express it, when it varied from that long and commonly received.

The necessity of being '*doers* of the word, and not *hearers* only,' is urged with great force and earnestness: and numerous quotations are made from the volume of inspiration, to show that sincere and habitual obedience to the precepts of the gospel, that holiness of heart and life, are indispensable in the christian character, and a pre-requisite for the approving favor of God and future happiness. We can only account for the apparent laboring of this point, by Dr. Mayhew, by reflecting that, in his day, some were such advocates for faith and grace, that they did not lay due stress on moral virtue and personal holiness; and that many who followed such preachers, were antinomians, and became less anxious, than a *true* christian can be, of keeping the commandments of God; without which there is no real conversion or regeneration. An obedient and holy life, he insists, is the only regeneration intended in the gospel; it being always represented as 'a turning from sin to holiness,' 'a faith which works by love, purifies the life, and overcomes the world.'

'I am sensible,' he says, 'that some persons have invented another sort of regeneration, which leaves the subject of it much as it found it—'to every good *work* reprobate'—and which a man may experience, without being really any better than he was before, or any more like to God, or any more observant of his laws. Yea, I wish there was not reason to say, that *that* which many have taken to be a regeneration, and a being filled with the Spirit, might be more properly called a *possession;* leaving them worse than it found them; less careful 'to order their conversation aright;' less just, sober, humble, and charitable, than they were in what they called their carnal, or natural state. According to their notion of regeneration, it would seem that a person might be born again, and not be a *doer of the word.* But the scriptures know of no regeneration but that which consists in a real change of heart and manners, from sin to holiness; a regeneration, from which obedience to the laws of Christianity is inseparable; and with which habitual sinning is absolutely inconsistent. So that, while we keep to this idea of regeneration, to say it is necessary we should be born again, is in effect to say that it is necessary we should become holy in heart and conversation, by divine assistance and grace; which is the same thing, in other words, with being *doers of the word*, or yielding a practical obedience to the gospel of Christ.

'The delusions, to which I particularly allude above, may be reduced to one grand, capital error; which is this—that the merits of Christ's obedience and sufferings may be so applied or imputed to sinners, as to be available to their justification and salvation, though they are destitute of all personal goodness. This great mistake is variously modified: it puts on different forms and appearances, and some scripture terms and phrases are brought to support it. When clothed in scripture language, it is expressed thus: that we are saved by grace; that we must be found in Christ, not having our own righteousness, which is of the law; that we are justified by faith, without the deeds of the law, &c. These and similar phrases have been commonly perverted to serve so *bad* a purpose as that of making men believe they may be in a state of favor with God, while they live in disobedience to his commands and precepts. They all amount to much the same thing, both in their natural and true sense, as they are used by the sacred writers and in the opinion of those who wrest and pervert them. I shall endeavor to rescue them from the false and absurd glosses which have been put upon them, greatly to the prejudice of pure and undefiled religion. And I think it will appear, that those who use these phrases, in order to disparage good works, or evangelical obedience, or to show that they may be justified and saved, without being the *doers of the word*, deceive themselves, and delude all who believe them.

'That we are saved by grace, no one, who believes the scriptures, will deny. But they who suppose, because we are saved by grace, that obedience to the gospel is not necessary, as the condition, on our part, in order to salvation, draw a conclusion which is unnatural and unjust. If these are reconcilable with each other; if it may be true, that we are saved by grace, and yet true that we cannot be saved without obedience; then certainly the supposed necessity of obedience does not militate with the doctrine of salvation by grace. My object, then, is to show, that though we are saved by grace, or by faith, it is in the way of obedience; and, therefore, that it is a perversion and abuse of scripture to infer, that obedience to Christ's commands is not the gospel condition of acceptance with God, and of obtaining eternal life.

'What saith the apostle? 'The grace of God hath appeared, teaching us'—not to hope for salvation while we continue in sin, but—'that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world.' If even the grace of God teaches us, that we must turn from our sins to God, it must be an absurd inference that we need not turn from sin, because the grace of God is revealed, and we are saved by it. This is, in effect, to say, that because God, in the gospel of his grace, has taught us that we must deny all worldly lusts, and serve him in righteousness, sobriety, and piety, therefore we need not do so; but may obtain his favor without. St. Paul has expressly cautioned us against such an abuse of the doctrine of God's grace. 'Sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under law, but under grace. What then? Shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid.' Those, then, who expect to be saved by grace, without obedience and holiness, expressly contradict the inspired apostle. We are also told, that 'fleshly lusts war against the soul.' Indeed, the whole tenor of the teachings and doctrines of our Savior, is directly contrary to such interpretation of the phrase, 'being saved by grace;' And he *blesses* us, as the apostle Peter says, by leading us to turn from and forsake our sins.

'By grace, in the New-Testament, is often understood the gospel system, or dispensation ; as we read of the gospel of the grace of God. It is indeed, a system or dispensation of grace and favor ; a proof of the divine goodness and mercy. But surely if this system is the foundation of our hope of favor and mercy from God, it must also be our guide and our rule, in seeking and obtaining the favor offered. The conditions on which the grace is offered, must also be observed and fulfilled, or we cannot justly expect the benefits of it. And these conditions are most clearly and repeatedly declared to be repentance ; a turning from sin to holiness ; and sincere, inward, and habitual purity and righteousness. These are indispensable ; and the promises of the gospel of grace are made to none but of this character.

'To the honor of God, and the gospel of his Son, we are bound to confess that we are saved by grace. But surely it is not to his glory, nor to the honor of the christian religion, to suppose we are saved by grace, in any such sense as would render obedience to our Savior's precepts unnecessary. On the contrary, it would be highly dishonorable to both, to conceive and teach thus. Such a supposition does, in effect, divest God of his holiness and all his moral perfections. It is to represent him as giving men a dispensation for indulging their lusts, by an express revelation from heaven. For, in truth, what else is it, to assert that the gospel is such a dispensation of grace, that they who live and die in their sins, are not excluded, by the terms of it, from the hope of immortal bliss ? And that the gates of heaven are set open to all who (profess to) believe, whether they work righteousness or iniquity ? Take heed, therefore, my brethren, lest any man deceive you, and lest you deceive yourselves with vain, empty words, and false hopes. But be ye *doers* of the word, and not hearers only. And rest assured, that *that* doctrine which teaches men may obtain salvation, without ceasing to do evil, and learning to do well, and without yielding a sincere obedience to the precepts of the gospel, is not so properly a *doctrine of grace*, as it is a *doctrine of devils.*'

Another doctrine, nearly allied to the preceding, often urged by some Christians, and so construed as to be injurious to the cause of moral righteousness and evangelical holiness, is that of *justification by faith*. This doctrine is justly interpreted and illustrated by Dr. Mayhew, in one of the sermons in this volume. 'It has been abused or misunderstood,' he says, 'so as indirectly to serve the cause of licentiousness and vice. This seems to be the sheet-anchor with many.'

'That we are justified by faith, is undoubtedly a doctrine of the gospel: but it is a great mistake hence to infer that we are accepted to the divine favor, and eternal life, without unfeigned repentance and new obedience. Whatever notions we may entertain of justification, it is most evident that every unreformed sinner, every one who hears the word, but is not a *doer* of it, is the object of God's wrath, and displeasure; and cannot become an heir of salvation, but by being made free from sin and having his fruit unto holiness. People may amuse themselves with terms and distinctions as long as they please, and ascribe their justification to whatever they will; but, after all, the scripture is plain, that every wicked man is out of God's favor, and will continue so till he ceases to do evil and learns to do well.

'The scriptures declare, that 'it is God who justifies'—that we 'are justified freely by his grace'—that 'he justifies the ungodly'—and that 'we are justified by faith.' Justification, then, is the gracious act of God; and faith is required on our part. The righteous live by faith. A belief in the being and moral character of God, is the foundation, the support and nourishment of the spiritual life of man. Thus all the holy men under the law and the prophets, and even in the patriarchal times, lived and walked by faith; and faith in the promises of God, led them to a course of obedience and righteousness. Under the gospel, faith is equally necessary. And it is essentially the same, as the faith of the patriarchs and holy men of former periods, with this addition—that we believe in Jesus Christ, as the Son, or messenger of God, and in his declarations and commands. For he spake in the Father's name, and by his authority; and fulfilled the promises of grace and of eternal life, before made to the servants of God. Therefore it is said, that we are justified by faith in Christ, or in God by Christ, or through the redemption which is by Christ, whom God hath made, or set forth, as a propitiation, a mercy-seat, to declare his method of righteousness.

'But while we speak of justification as an act of God, it is not to be conceived as really distinct from his written word, or the gracious promises and declarations of the gospel. The terms on which we are accepted, or pardoned and justified, are clearly laid down in the scriptures; so that they who comply with them, are justified accordingly. on such compliance. These terms are fixed, explicit, and certain; so that those who come up to them may justly expect the mercy and grace promised, and those who do not, are still under condemnation. And there is nothing arbitrary or capricious in thus justifying him who believes and reforms, and in condemning him who does not. And no one is under condemnation but whom the word of God condemns; no one is justified, but whom the gospel teaches shall be justified.

'We are not to suppose, that there is any sentence of absolution or justification formally pronounced in heaven, when a man is justified. No; God's sentence of absolution or justification is in his revealed word, and not any thing distinct from, or independent of it. To say a man is justified, or is under condemnation, expresses the relation he stands in to God's word and law. The former means that he is one to whom the gracious promises of the gospel belong; the latter, that he is one who is still under condemnation, as being without true faith, and under the dominion of sin. It would have prevented much confusion and unintelligible rant, on the subject of justification, had it been always so considered; and as being only the sentence God passes on men, in and by his word, instead of being imagined an act distinct from it, and of merely an arbitrary nature.

'But the question is, how this justification accrues to us? On what terms and conditions it is granted to sinners? Whether we are justified only by faith, distinguished from repentance and newness of life, or by faith, as virtually comprehending repentance and sincere obedience? Now it must be admitted, that many who hear the glad tidings of the gospel, and have even taken the name of Christians, are not subjects of this justification. To what then is this distinction owing? Is it not evidently to this; that some comply with the terms, on which their justification is suspended or offered, while others reject it?—for the terms are the same to all. God does not act the part of a mere sovereign, in justifying one, and leaving another under condemnation. Though we have no right to prescribe rules of conduct to God, he has prescribed them to himself; and according to them he invariably dispenses the blessings of this new covenant, without respect of persons. And the scriptures clearly teach, that justification is not suspended upon faith alone, or in a restricted sense; but on faith as an operative principle, comprehending repentance from dead works and sincere, evangelical obedience.

'There is a vulgar prejudice, however, which I beg leave here to obviate. Those who assert the necessity of evangelical obedience, in order to justification, are often accused of holding that our good works are meritorious. But we disclaim the doctrine of merit. We believe that Christ, by his sufferings, obedience, and death, has procured mercy, justification, and eternal life for us; or that it is by and through him we are pardoned and justified; and yet we contend that we cannot be justified, but by faith in and submission to our blessed Redeemer. But even after we have believed, and in a good measure obeyed the gospel, we account it mercy or grace in God to accept us, and to bestow on us eternal life. So true is it, that we are saved by faith, through grace. And yet it fully appears that the promises of forgiveness and of eternal life, by the gospel, are made only to such as have a practical belief and inward submission to the terms of it; such a submission as will ever be accompanied by sincere obedience, as there is opportunity. And this is all the obedience, as necessary to justification, for which I contend. Possibly some, who ascribe our justification to faith alone, may comprehend, under the term faith, all that godly sorrow and internal submission to the terms of the gospel, which others intend when they assert the necessity of obedience, and deny the sufficiency of faith alone to justify. In this case, if there is a variance in words, the real meaning of each is the same.

'After all, it must be evident, I think, to an attentive and unprejudiced reader of even the writings of St. Paul, that we are not justified by faith, exclusive of obedience; and that he does not oppose faith to obedience. He indeed contrasts the method of God's righteousness, or the righteousness which God requires, with the method of righteousness or justification proposed by the Jews. Their righteousness, or method of righteousness, was an outward observance of the ritual of Moses—fasting twice a week, paying tythes, and offering sacrifices, &c., which made the heart and life no better, and left them an unholy, a corrupt and wicked people. But faith in the promises of God, in things invisible, future, and spiritual, which produced obedience, as did that of Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus, the apostles, and early Christians—such a principle does justify, or is acceptable in the sight of God; and it is the principle of uniform and sincere obedience to the divine commands. This is the true spirit, the free and generous spirit of the gospel, as contrasted with the principle of fear or bondage; and which produced only an external observance of rites and ceremonies.

'There is, then, no necessity for supposing that St. Paul opposes faith in Christ and in the promises of the gospel, to evangelical obedience. It is plain he opposes believing, only to the conduct of the Jews, *who went about to establish their own righteousness*, and who therefore rejected Christ and his gospel.'"

In the next sermon of this series, Dr. Mayhew proceeds to show, that the passages of scripture, which speak of our being justified by faith, &c., cannot possibly mean, that we are justified by faith, as distinguished from repentance, and new or evangelical obedience, in any consistency with the plain and general tenor of scripture; and that it is necessary to understand the term *faith*, in such passages, in a larger sense, as including repentance and sincere obedience, instead of being opposed to it.

To those unacquainted with the religious opinions advanced by theological writers, in the time of Dr. Mayhew, and previously, it may appear strange that he should have thought it necessary to labor this point as he did, in some of his public discourses. The plain parts of scripture, and the doctrines and declarations of our Lord, most manifestly teach the necessity of personal holiness, of sincere obedience, of habitual and hearty conformity to the divine law, in order to be approved and accepted of God, or to expect or to be qualified for future happiness: and yet many made no account of obedience, but as an evidence, at most, of our being Christians; and some even denied this. The language of many was, that we are saved wholly of grace, or faith, without any regard to good works or a good life—that the righteousness of Christ was imputed to us—or we considered and made righteous by the merits of Christ, applied to us by faith—or by an arbitrary act of God. Dr. Mayhew and others, while they repudiated the Romish doctrine of merits, strictly speaking, or of any claim to happiness, by our own obedience, and resolved our salvation into the rich grace of God, yet believed and insisted that sincere, habitual conformity to the divine precepts, was indispensable; and that to such only were the promises of the gospel made: to those who should repent and turn from all sin, and be controlled and influenced by a love of God and of truth and duty, and thus become meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.

Speaking of some of the phrases of Paul, relating to justification, which he thought were greatly perverted or misunderstood, he observes, 'The interpretation which I consider most agreeable to the apostle, is this: By *righteousness*, in these places, I understand not any holiness, or good works of men; any obedience which Christians perform; but pardoning mercy, acceptance, and justification with God, as the same word is often used. This is plainly the sense in which he uses the term, when he says, 'but now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, even the righteousness of God, which is by Jesus Christ.' Of such pardoning mercy, or justification unto life, we become the objects, by faith in Christ, or by the gospel of Christ, in opposition to law. And the mercy of God, revealed to sinful men in the gospel of Christ, is the righteousness of God by faith. But it must be noticed, that though faith is opposed to the works and righteousness of the law of Moses, it is not opposed to evangelical and spiritual obedience. And I cannot but here observe, that the scripture teaches no such doctrine as that of God's imputing the righteousness of Christ to sinners for justification: but the *imputing* of righteousness is opposed to the *marking* of iniquity, and signifies the same thing with forgiving iniquity, or covering sin.'

His remarks, in these discourses, are much elaborated on this point: and he is not only very powerful in his arguments from reason and scripture, but he also sometimes indulges his talent at sarcasm.

'The grand and interesting point is what the gospel requires of us, in order to being approved in the great day of retribution—which being once resolved, the other is of little importance. We are not justified and entitled to salvation here on one condition, and justified and actually saved hereafter on another. That which the gospel has made necessary to our being acquitted, or approved and saved, in the day of judgment, it has made equally necessary to our being justified *now*, and entitled to salvation. For the gospel is the rule, as already observed, by which those under the dispensation of it, are to be judged hereafter. So that then we shall be either acquitted or condemned, according as we shall have, or have not, complied with the terms of it. And these terms being the same *now* that they will be hereafter, it follows that such as will be condemned by the gospel then, must be condemned now; and such as will then be justified, and no others, can be justified by it now, or entitled to salvation by it. So that what some take for an important distinction, turns out like some of Athanasius; to be no better than a palpable contradiction. For there cannot well be a more glaring repugnancy, than to say that the same gospel which will condemn men for their disobedience in the day of judgment, does not also condemn men equally for their disobedience now, but justifies them *solely* on account of their *faith*.

'So much for the pretended* article of a *standing* or *falling church!* It is really surprising that such a doctrine should ever be believed by any. It is still more wonderful that it should ever be embraced by any worthy and intelligent men! But what is most astonishing of all is, that such an irrational, unscriptural doctrine—a doctrine of so pernicious a tendency, with regard to the lives and manners of men—should be insisted upon, with peculiar *warmth* and *zeal*, as a most important and a fundamental article of the christian faith!'

In his sermons 'on hearing and receiving the gospel preached,' as well as in his discourses 'on striving to enter into the strait gate,' Dr. Mayhew was led to refer to the 'vexed question' of human liberty, or of the moral power of man to do the will of God—of our moral ability to comply with the terms of the gospel, to receive or to reject the offers of pardon and life, and to comply with or to oppose and disregard them. He was an advocate for such inherent power in man. All moralists and all christian ministers admit the doctrine, so far as to consider it important to exhort and urge men to their duty, to avoid sin, and to choose and practice virtue; and still many are theoretically supporters of the doctrine of necessity, and deny a self-determining power in men. Many are philosophical necessarians, though they talk, and feel, and exhort like the believers in liberty, when they preach to others, or call on their fellow-men to reform, to be virtuous and good.

Dr. Mayhew was evidently a full believer in the doctrine of human liberty, as will appear from the following extract and note from his sermon 'on the nature and principle of evangelical obedience,' being one of those on hearing and embracing the gospel. His father advocated the same doctrine in his 'Grace Defended;' in which he contends that all men *naturally* have power to receive, accept, and prefer the gospel, instead of rejecting and disbelieving it, for want

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'* It is humbly hoped that those worthy clergymen, who have acquired so great reputation for *learning*, as well as for *orthodoxy*, by often quoting Luther's *articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ*, will not envy another the inconsiderable honor of *translating* it.'

of power; and also in a dispute, which he maintained with Rev. John Dickinson, of New-Jersey, on the subject, in 1743. It is not pretended, indeed, that Dr. Mayhew has settled this difficult question. I am not aware that he even undertook to decide the question, or to write largely upon it. But we here give some quotations from his sermons, above mentioned, with a long note, which shows, that he thought it closely connected with the very high opinion he had of the spiritual or moral powers of man; whom he supposed capable of great and continued improvement and exaltation; who was made in the image of God, and in possession of a nature capacitating him for endless progresses in virtue, as well as knowledge—but which depended on the proper use and exercise of his natural faculties.

'By this time I suppose it is very evident, as was hinted above, that this inquiry runs directly into another, and terminates therein—I mean the perplexing question concerning human liberty; and it can only be resolved fully by those who are able to reconcile our freedom (which ought not to be doubted of) with the scripture doctrine of God's fore-knowledge, and eternal counsels; of his governing providence, and the operations of his spirit and grace. To pretend to answer the difficulty, by denying human freedom, and resolving all into the absolute sovereignty and power of God, is only to cut the knot: and, on the other supposition, that we are free, there is somewhat in this subject, which is, even at first view, above humanity—somewhat to which we cannot attain—somewhat, which is evidently too high for creatures of such limited faculties; and, probably, for all creatures. And if we exercise ourselves in these things, I know of no valuable end it can answer, except that of convincing us of our ignorance; till we come, at last, to sit down contented and resigned, where the holy apostle did, saying with him—'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!' God's counsel and providence govern the world; but yet men are free!

'And if we are really free creatures, we cannot go any farther, towards a solution of the question we have been considering, than this: Some men will and choose to conform their tempers and practice to their faith; and do so, by the concurring influences of God's Spirit. Others will and choose to continue in their sins; not as being tempted (much less compelled) thereto of God; but being 'drawn away of their own lusts and enticed.' Higher than this, I think, we cannot go, without losing ourselves. We must either take up with this simple, scriptural account of the matter, or else bewilder ourselves with that both needless and fruitless inquiry, What determines our will and choice to one side, rather than to the other? With relation to which question, I shall only observe, that, in all those respects wherein we are actually free, (whatever respects they are,) certainly nothing determines us necessarily, or unavoidably, so that we could not but make the choice we do. We are arbiters here, choosing for, and determining, ourselves; this being the proper notion and nature of liberty, as opposed to necessity.

'Those persons who deny the foreknowledge and the eternal purposes of God, because they cannot clearly reconcile this doctrine with that of human liberty, seem very worthy of blame: since, if the scriptures are true, these doctrines must both be true. But those who, because of the difficulty which they find here, deny that man is free, are still much more blameable: because the denial of liberty, is the charging of all our sins on God; making him the author, as well as the punisher, of them: and so absolutely destroys his moral character: whilst, at the same time, this is of the most fatal tendency with reference to practical religion.

'In that revelation, with which God has favored us, it is forever taken for granted, that we have a self-determining power, (whatever difficulties may attend the supposition;) I mean, the power either of accepting the mercy offered us, by complying with the gracious terms of it, or rejecting the counsel of God against ourselves. So that none ever had, or shall have, just cause to complain, that the God of all grace and mercy so cruelly mocked and insulted them, as to offer them deliverance from the wrath to come, and eternal life in his most glorious presence, upon impractical conditions: which would, in effect, be to give us sight of heaven, only to render us more wretched in the sight of it, and to make damnation itself the more intolerable! Such doctrine as this we, indeed, sometimes hear—such hard speeches!—But if you can believe him, for whom it is impossible to lie, 'Life and death are set before you, blessing and cursing:' and of this, both 'heaven and earth are called to bear record; therefore choose life!' '

There is a long note appended to one of his sermons 'on hearing the word with meekness,' and at the paragraph just above given; in which he refers to the vexed question of human liberty. And it is deemed important to present it here, not that it is supposed it will satisfy all inquisitive and metaphysical hearers; but as showing his leading views on this difficult inquiry. The question of liberty and necessity was moved and discussed by philosophers, in the most remote periods; and Milton represents the fallen angels as being perplexed with the subject. Dr. Mayhew probably considered it important to express his views, in this place, as he was known to be in favor of human liberty or of the moral powers of man; and constantly, in his sermons, assumed the doctrine to be true, as did all other arminians of his day. The calvinists were then also seeking and advancing arguments against human liberty, with a view to defend and vindicate their peculiar tenets. It was supposed that Edwards wrote his essay on the will—in which he denies all native moral power in man, and makes him a mere machine—for the purpose of supporting the doctrine of total depravity, man's utter inability to have a good volition, or to will good, without special grace; and thus making him altogether *passive* in conversion, and even in all his good volitions, and as always *acted upon* by something without himself.

'There are many things attended with insuperable difficulties in speculation; things, of which no clear account, or *rationale*, can be given; yea, which seem to run us into some absurdity, if supposed true: which things are, nevertheless, certain, indubitable facts ; such as cannot be denied, without denying our own daily experience. Liberty, as opposed to necessity, I take to be somewhat of this kind. Great perplexities and difficulties arise upon the supposition of it ; but much greater upon the denial. All human language is exactly accommodated to the doctrine of freedom : so that we could neither understand each other, nor ourselves without the idea of liberty ; or a power both of choosing and acting variously, or differently, within a certain sphere, under any given circumstances. For this is the true, proper notion of libery. At least, this is the sense in which the terms *liberty, freedom, active power*, are used in this place. And, without the idea of such a power, what do we mean by such forms of expression as these, which are common ?—'that we can do so, or so ; but cannot do another thing'—'that we would do this, or that, if we could ; but cannot'—and, *vice versa*, 'that we will try, or use our endeavors to do so ; and do it, if we can.' This is the language of nature ; and every man understands these forms of expression ; which yet would be quite senseless and unintelligible to us, without the idea and supposition of liberty. There would be no foundation for such a distinction betwixt what we can, and what we cannot do, &c. All men have, therefore, the idea of liberty ; which is, indeed, one of the most plain and simple of all our ideas. Even children have it.

'And it may be fairly argued that we are free, and conscious to ourselves of our being so, from our having this idea. For how did we at first come by it ? It could not, I think, come into our minds, originally, from any thing external and material, or by means of any of our corporeal senses and organs. There seems to be nothing, in all visible nature, which could suggest it to us at first ; though spontaneous animal motion bids the fairest for it. If we had not actually experienced the thing ourselves, we could have no more idea of it, than a blind man of colors, or a deaf one of sounds. This idea could be gotten only by reflecting upon what has passed in our own minds ; upon what we have experienced in ourselves, by a kind of internal sensation. We are, therefore, conscious of our freedom. So that those who deny there is any liberty in man, do not only contradict the experience of others, but their own. For they have this idea, no less than others; which yet they could not have, but from experience.

'However, if it should be said that we do not get the idea of active power, by reflecting on our own experience, but that it might be naturally suggested to the mind, *ab extra*, by animal motion, of which we are daily witnesses, or by any other phenomena in nature; it will, even from hence, follow that there are really some phenomena in nature, which correspond to this idea: for otherwise the idea could not have been naturally suggested to our minds by these appearances. So that, even upon this supposition, it follows that the notion of liberty, or active power, is a natural one, brought into our minds by daily observation. And if this is the case, it is surely natural to believe there is freedom. Consequently, to deny this is unnatural, and to contradict a man's own daily observation. For we do not live a day without seeing what has, at least, the appearance of liberty; and what, according to the present supposition, originally suggested to us the notion or idea of it.

'There is, demonstrably, liberty somewhere; in some one being, at least. All things could not have proceeded in an eternal series of necessary causes and effects, each of which is both an effect with relation to somewhat preceding, and a cause with relation to something following. We must ascend, and follow the chain, till we come to a first mover, how distant and remote soever; which first mover must be a free being, or have a principle of active power, which is the same thing. He cannot be necessarily actuated by any thing: which would be, in effect, to suppose there is a cause of the first cause; or that the first cause is a necessary effect of another necessary cause, &c. &c.

'To deny to this Great First Cause the power of imparting to his creatures a measure of freedom; or of making a free creature, who can either choose and act, or not, within a certain sphere, (how narrow and limited soever that sphere may be,) is making much too free with him. There is not the least contradiction or absurdity, in the supposition of a creature's having active power, or being a free agent.

'And if active power be not an incommunicable attribute of the Creator, (which we have no reason to think it is,) or if a creature may possibly be endowed with liberty, we have no reason to doubt but that we have it ourselves; since, upon the supposition that we were actually free, we could not be more experimentally certain that we were so, than we are at present. That we are possessed of active power, is so immediately, so experimentally, known by us, and we have such an inward consciousness and feeling of it, that no difficulties, merely speculative, can overthrow, or in any measure invalidate, this evidence of it. We are not more certain of any one thing, except, perhaps, of our own existence, than that we are free creatures.

'But it will perhaps be said, that though we do, indeed, seem to ourselves to be free, yet we may not really be so: this may all be a delusion. To which it is answered, that if this should in fact be the case, it is impossible for us to to know it to be so, or to have any reason to think it so; since we are as immediately and experimentally certain of our freedom, as we are of any one thing whatever, with the single exception mentioned before. Those notions and principles, which lead people to doubt of their freedom, must, in their own nature, be far more precarious than that is. We might as well call in question the testimony of any, or all of our senses, as doubt the truth and certainty of our experience in this case; this consciousness of our freedom, I mean, whatever speculative difficulties may lay in the way. We might as plausibly, at least, question the existence of an external, material world; question whether we really see, hear, smell, taste, or feel, any thing; because of the difficulties which occur respecting the *modus* of that communication and intercourse, which there is betwixt body and mind. We might as plausibly, at least, say, that though things seem to be so and so, yet they may not be really so; but we be deluded by false appearances. We might, I say, as plausibly talk thus, as call in question the reality of our freedom, because we cannot clearly see how we can be free, consistently with some speculative opinions; nor fully solve all the difficulties arising upon the supposition of our being so. The former is not more certainly a matter of daily experience to us, than the latter. We are conscious of, and feel our freedom within us, as truly and certainly as we see or feel corporeal objects without us.

'If men will not rest satisfied with such experience, but will still doubt the truth of their own outward senses, and internal consciousness, saying, that though things seem to be thus, yet they may not be so in reality; there is no remedy. These are the faculties which the author of our being has given us; nor have we any other way of coming to the truth, which is better than this, or even so sure and infallible. If the truth of these faculties, or the certainty of the testimony which they bear, is called in question, we are, of course, reduced to a total absolute scepticism; having no data, no first principles, on which to proceed in any case whatever, whether with reference to religion or common life. We may doubt of every thing, or believe any thing. Even transubstantiation will be no longer an absurdity, or incredible, for the good old *protestant reason*, that it is a contradiction to experience and common sense. For although all our senses *seem* to contradict it, yet it *may* be really true.

'Certainly those things of which we have such an immediate consciousness, such an experimental knowledge, as is here intended, and as we actually have respecting our own freedom, ought not to be called in question, upon any pretence of speculative difficulties; which must necessarily, and in their own nature, be more doubtful and precarious. We are to look upon the former as *first principles*, (as they really are,) from which if we once depart, we have absolutely no footing—no ground at all left to stand upon; but are plunged into an abyss, or endless labyrinth of doubts, from whence no clue can extricate us. And, indeed, what a paradox is this!—that men should deny what they acknowledge *seems*, even to themselves, to be true from *experience*, on account of difficulties merely *speculative!* This is the case with relation to liberty: for these men universally confess that they seem to themselves to be free. This is such a degree of scepticism; it is such infidelity to common sense; such a want of faith and trust therein, and to those faculties which God has given us, for the more immediate and the most infallible guide of life; that one would think it impossible, were there not examples of it.

'Moreover, the doctrine of liberty only, accords naturally to that common *moral* sense of things, of actions and characters, which all mankind, in all ages, in all countries, have had and have. I mean, their sense of ill-desert, and its contrary, both in themselves and others. It is indeed the notion or supposition of liberty, (ever intimately present to the human mind, though some perversely disown it): it is, I say, this idea of liberty, which partly constitutes that moral sentiment, and internal feeling, which is here intended. All men know what peculiar sentiment that is, which possesses the human mind, upon seeing, or only hearing of some remarkable instance of cruelty, injustice, or perfidy. This sentiment (or, call it what you please,) is closely connected with the notion of liberty: or rather, the former cannot be, without the latter; which is really a constituent part of it. There is sometimes, indeed, a momentary resentment and anger, resembling it, raised in our breasts, even against inanimate, inactive beings. But we soon check such resentment, by reflecting, that that at which we are angry, was entirely passive; that it had no self-moving, acting principle; but was actuated in some manner, as to itself, quite unavoidable. This single reflection, that the being, or thing, could not help, could not avoid, what has happened, immediately allays all resentment; though we may have received harm and damage therefrom: which shows, that there is a close, an intimate connexion, betwixt the ideas of blame-worthiness and liberty; so that the former cannot be without the latter, as was hinted before. Nor can a man calmly and cooly think any action really culpable, or him that did it of ill-desert, without presupposing that he was a free being. At least, no man can think so, till he has made himself another kind of creature than God made him.

'And now, since the great author of our being has framed our minds in such a manner, that we thus naturally connect the idea of liberty with that of demerit, or ill-desert; so that it is almost, if not altogether, impossible to have the latter of them without the former, we may fairly conclude that he himself cannot resent, or be angry with his creatures, for any thing besides the abuse, or the neglect, of their own freedom and active powers. Consequently, he neither does nor will punish them, properly speaking, for the omission of that which they had no power to perform, or the doing of that which they could not forbear. We cannot be more certain, that there is really a religious, moral government established in the universe, than we are of this: we cannot even have the idea of such a constitution, without taking this supposition along with us, our minds being moulded and fashioned as they are. And whether it becomes us to attribute such a kind of proceeding to the Author and Lord of all, as we all necessarily condemn in each other—under the names of cruelty, injustice, tyranny—all are left to judge!

'But it is particularly to be observed, that both the Jewish and the christian revelations, proceed wholly upon the supposition that men are free creatures. This point is never once brought into question; but is always taken for granted: and upon this foundation the whole superstructure of precepts, exhortations, promises, and threatnings, is apparently built: revelation, in this respect, exactly coinciding with, and corresponding to, the natural sentiments, the common feelings of men's own breasts and consciences. So that human liberty is, in fact, the true basis of the moral constitution of things; or God's moral government as distinguished from his natural. It is the basis of all religion, whether natural or revealed. And from hence it follows, that any system of principles which militates against this doctrine, or which cannot be supported but by the denial of it, must necessarily be false; and (though christened by the venerable name of religion) must be a real contradiction to all religion.

'But if it could be truly said, (as it cannot,) that Christianity either asserts or supposes men not to be free creatures; it is plain, Christianity ought not to be credited. For we are more certain of this fact, that we are free, from daily experience, than we can be of the truth of Christianity, in the way of inference, deduction, or reasoning: which reasoning all manifestly depends on the truth of some historical facts, of which we must, in the nature of the thing, be less certain than we are of the other. No revelation, therefore, can possibly overthrow the doctrine of human liberty: so far from this, that any pretended one, which contradicts it, ought to be accounted an imposture, for that very reason. We could not rationally have been believers in Christ, without being first believers in our own senses, had we been spectators of his miracles, or even the subjects of them, feeling in our bodies, that we were healed by him; (Mark 5. 29.) Nor can any man set Christianity at variance with the experience and feeling, with the common sense and reason, of mankind—or exalt faith to triumph in their ruins—without being first more truly an enemy to them, than he is a friend to religion afterwards.

'What good ends Christians can propose to themselves, even in making it a question, whether men have liberty or not, (which, surely, is never made one in the holy scriptures,) I am unable to conceive. But their attempting to establish the negative, is still more surprising; unless they were sure that they were right, beyond the possibility of a mistake: for should they happen to be wrong, they cannot well be insensible of the fatal mischiefs which may naturally follow, if they could persuade people to believe, that they can choose and act no otherwise than they do; thus furnishing them with a full and ample excuse for all the impieties, and villanies, which they are either guilty of at present, or may have an inclination to commit! And how gravely soever men may talk, or write, while they are endeavoring to reconcile the doctrine of necessity with our daily experience; with our natural notions of virtue and vice, merit, and demerit; with a righteous moral government, and with the religion of the bible; I must confess it appears to me, to be no better than formal, solemn trifling upon a subject, which ought not to be trifled with! In short, if any speculative principle can be justly said to be contrary to the common sense, or sentiments, of mankind; to be immoral; to be impious; it is this, of an universal necessity: for it really terminates in atheism, if pursued to its just and natural consequences.

'It is, probably, a great while before men can bring themselves heartily to acquiesce in this opinion. Common reason and sense greatly reluct at it. And if it ever sits quite easy upon people's minds at last, it is because their minds are, by some means or other, corrupted and debauched. Some persons, doubtless, have recourse to this doctrine, as a salvo for their vices, and that they may find rest from a guilty conscience. For this is a short, though not a wise and safe method, for men to rid themselves of the remonstrances and upbraidings of that officious, troublesome companion: though I would not, by any means, suggest that this is always the case.

'Others seem to have embraced this doctrine, merely because they thought it followed from some philosophical and anatomical principles, which they had laid down, and were not willing to part with. Thus, particularly, a learned physician and anatomist, who, not long since, wrote in defence of it, tells the world, that he had great reluctance at embracing it; because it seemed to him, at first, to be inconsistent with the natural idea of vice and virtue, and the principles of religion—in which he seems to have been a serious believer: however, he says, he found himself obliged to admit it, in consequence of his hypothesis concerning the vibratory motion of the nerves, the medullary substance, the spinal marrow, &c.!

'If some other gentlemen had, with equal plainness and honesty, declared to the world their reasons for embracing this doctrine of necessity, it is probable they would have said, 'it was because they were resolved, at all adventures, to defend their (religious, shall I call it—or irreligious?) hypothesis; which they knew not how to defend well without it.' However, that system of theology is, perhaps, as indefensible with, as without this doctrine: since it is hereby weakened and pulled down in some respects, in the same proportion that it is strengthened and built up in others. The doctrine of necessity, if true, would indeed afford a solution of some of the difficulties respecting fore-knowledge, predestination, and their mechanical conversion: but if these gentlemen design, in their system, to vindicate the moral character of God, and the equity of his dealings; particularly in consigning the wicked to endless torments, rather than the holiest man on earth, or angel in heaven; if this, I say, is really any part of their design, they are so far from receiving any help at all, in this respect, (wherein they needed so much,) from the doctrine I am speaking of, that that which was before their grand difficulty, is heightened, hereby, into an absolute impossibility. For it is to no purpose for these gentlemen to tell us, that vicious men are justly punished, because they are not actuated by a foreign, external constraint, but will, and choose to sin, and do it voluntarily: which is the method in which some of them have endeavored to vindicate the divine justice in the perdition of the wicked. This is equally evasive and futile. For what they call willing and choosing to sin, and doing so voluntarily, is either that which the sinner might have avoided, or that which he could not avoid: let them choose their alternative. If they say, this was avoidable; then the doctrine of necessity is given up: if, unavoidable; then the objection against punishing the sinner for it, remains in its full strength. For if the sinner (it seems we must still call him so!) could not possibly have avoided thus willing, choosing, and acting, but was, in every successive moment of his existence, even from the first, laid under a necessity of doing just as he did; whether this were owing to any external constraint, or to some internal, original bias or impulse of nature, makes not the least alteration in the case, so far as divine justice is concerned in it; he is as blameless, on the latter supposition, as he would be on the former; and if it would be unrighteous to punish him on one, it would be equally so, to do it on the other.

'But what was intended, at first, only for a short marginal note, is already become a very long one. I shall, however, just add, that it is astonishing to see some apparently sober, religious men, so solicitous to establish their doctrine of the divine decrees, of the uncontrolable sovereignty, and all-determining providence of God, as to do it at the expense of his moral perfections!—to see them so much more solicitous to prove, that the Judge of all the earth does what he will; than that 'the Judge of all the earth will do right!' If it is impiety, even to 'speak wickedly for God;' how much greater impiety is it, to 'speak wickedly against him!''

It has been before suggested, that Dr. Mayhew might have been induced to give his views on the question of the native moral powers of man, on account of the essay of Mr. Edwards, on the will, which was published a few years previously, and excited great attention in the theological world. It will be apparent, I think, to those who are acquainted with the theory of Edwards, on this subject, and have attended to his arguments, that Dr. Mayhew had his work in view when he penned the note.

Mr. Edward's book was certainly powerfully and ingeniously written ; and it was triumphantly appealed to and circulated, as unanswerable, by the calvinistic party, and as being a full support to their system. But, at the same time, it failed to convince some that the calvinistic doctrines were true.

The theory of Edwards is, that volition, or the exercise of the will, is an *effect ;* that man is strictly passive in his mental and moral exercises ; that he is necessarily wrought upon and led to will or choose whatever he does, by an extraneous cause, by motives presented to the mind, over which he has no control ; that he is not free to choose—or, what is the same in effect, that he cannot choose or will differently from what he actually does choose or will ; that though he *feels free*, and does choose or will, without a perception of compulsion, yet that he could not will differently, in any case, from that which he did actually choose—and, therefore, that when men are called upon to repent, to choose good and to eschew evil, to choose life and refuse sin and death, they have no more power to do it, than a dead man has to raise himself to life, or a man to create a world. And thus a way was open for the reception of the doctrine of total depravity, man's moral inability, and the necessity of irresistible grace in conversion.

The arminians were opposed to this theory ; and generally appealed to scripture statements, calls, and exhortations, as implying man's natural power to repent and to accept of salvation ; and to the consciousness which every one has of liberty to choose and to refuse—to will for or against a thing when presented as an object of choice. It was contended, there could be no virtue or vice, in reality, and no just cause for praise or blame, in this theory ; that a power to choose or will, in any case, was evident to common sense ;

and that, without it, we could only say a bad man was unfortunate, and his destiny unfavorable.

The unreasonableness and danger, not to say the absurdity of the theory, led many to reject it, without inquiry or discussion; while others attempted to show that it could not be well founded, from the nature of man as a moral and spiritual being, who must necessarily be endowed with a degree of liberty or moral power. Experience Mayhew asserted that 'God afforded power to all, by his grace, who had the gospel preached to them, to accept and embrace it.' This was admitting man's salvation, or his believing and embracing the gospel, to be of *grace*, and yet it was supposing he could will either to reject or receive it. This was the ground he took in his dispute with Rev. John Dickinson, of New-Jersey, in 1743, (but never, it is believed, published.) And his son seems to have adopted the same views on this subject; though, perhaps, he considered man as possessing more liberty, or power, than his father. The *exercise* of the will, however, or the mind acting or willing, Experience Mayhew contended was not an effect, and that it was improper so to consider it. Volition, he said, was not strictly an effect, but the mind acting; it was the exercise of the will; and therefore man was not *passive*, but *active*, in choosing. Dr. Samuel Clarke, of England, had, indeed, said much the same before; and so had a long list of philosophers, who were opposed to the doctrine of necessity, or to fatalism.—Mr. Dickinson replied, that he supposed man had power to consider, to weigh and compare things in his mind; but when he was fully convinced of what was best to be chosen, he must and would so choose.

Dr. Samuel West, of Dartmouth, at a later day, wrote repeatedly on this subject; and adopted, in substance, the views of Experience Mayhew, that volition was not an effect, but the mind acting, or an exercise of the will; and he contended that man had a self-determining power—which was all the advocates for human liberty contended for. Some extracts from his essays on the freedom of the will, may be found in the Appendix.

Another strong argument, advanced by those who opposed the power of man to choose freely, and in favor of necessity, was the fore-knowledge of God, which, it was argued, was inconsistent with freedom in man. For, if the Deity foreknew all things, and all events, man could not have power to will or to do as he might vainly choose, but acted from necessity; the prescience of God making it impossible to act differently from what was foreknown and ordained. But some suppose this argument more specious than solid. For foreknowledge in the Deity is similar to *present* knowledge in man. But there is no causality in our knowledge. It only implies *certainty*. It operates not as a cause, so as to produce an effect. If one knows an event, and is not mistaken, then there is or was such an event—but this knowledge was not the cause of it. If I see a man walking, then he is not sitting nor standing, at that instant of time; but my seeing him walk, is not the cause of his so doing; nor does it prove he had not power to have stood or sat at that time. God, indeed, knows all things; he is omniscient; and we speak of his foreknowledge only in accommodation to human language, or conceptions. But this knowledge has no causality in it; nor can it be shown to operate on the liberty or powers of man.

Soon after Mr. Edward's essay on the will was published, some copies were sent to England, and one to Rev. Dr. Erskine, of Scotland. He wrote to his correspondent here, who sent it, that it was not approved there, for it went to destroy the accountability of man; and was similar to the doctrine of Hume, who had then lately written against the moral liberty of man, and was in favor of the doctrine of necessity and fatalism, adopted by some ancient heathen philosophers. Dr. Erskine was a calvinist, but he was not prepared for the reasonings or conclusions of Mr. Edwards, which he perceived to be contrary to common sense, and to the nature of man as an accountable being.

On the occurrence of the earthquake, November, 1755, Dr Mayhew published several discourses, with a view to the religious improvement of that event. This was the most severe and alarming earthquake, except one, which had occurred since the settlement of New-England. There were successive shocks within a few minutes; and the chimnies were thrown down from many houses, and articles of furniture displaced. In some places large apertures were discovered in the ground, and sand and clay thrown out, which were supposed to have been deposited at some depth in the ground. The alarm produced by this phenomenon—so very rare in this part of the country—was deep and lasting; and the clergy considered it proper to refer to it, in speaking of the power of God, of man's liability to calamities, and of the importance of a religious life, as a preparation for any, the most desolating judgments. Most of the clergy preached occasional sermons, at this time. Dr. Mayhew delivered two discourses the Lord's-day after the earthquake, and another in December following, chiefly of a practical nature, and with the view of producing a salutary effect on his hearers and the public. They also contain judicious and pertinent reflections on the greatness, sovereignty, and providence of God. Some time later still, he published several sermons referring to the same event, from Psalms cxix. 59, 60, dedicated to the youth of his society, on the importance of a serious consideration of the nature and destiny of man—of a wise and powerful governing providence—of the uncertainty of the time of one's death—of the necessity of an habitually sober, moral and religious deportment—and of our accountability, and a future retribution. In 1760 he delivered a sermon, which was published, on the occasion of the great fire, so called, in Boston; which happened in March, 1760.* His design, in these discourses, he says, was not to beget unreasonable fears and alarms, or merely a temporary impression, or seriousness—for that it was never his object to excite the fears and passions only, nor chiefly; but to address the understanding and to impress the conscience. Uncommon events and great calamities, in providence, he thought proper to notice for this purpose. And while revelation was chiefly to be followed as the source and guide of preaching, at all times, yet the suggestions and arguments of reason were also to be attended to, and lessons drawn from the course of providence for the same important end; as a due notion of the divine government of the world, must serve to confirm the views derived from scripture. Extracts from these discourses would be improving to every serious mind, and would also show the talents and the benevolent religious sentiments of the author; but our limits will not allow it.

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* One hundred and seventy-four dwelling-houses, and about the same number of stores were burnt; two hundred families deprived of shelter, and there was also great loss of goods and other property.

In 1756, at the age of thirty-five, Dr. Mayhew entered into the interesting and tender connexion of matrimony. Miss Elizabeth Clark, daughter of John Clark, Esq., of Boston, was the object of his affections and choice.* She was several years younger than the Doctor, being only of the age of twenty-two. She had been well educated, and was a lady of great personal beauty, and accomplishments. But she was also amiable, and evidently of a religious and pious spirit. The character of her parents was also such as to give promise of her good principles and virtuous dispositions. The attachment seems to have been mutual; and the connexion was evidently founded entirely in sentiment and affection. There was no mercenary motive in its formation. It were best, if such was always the fact; as, no doubt, it generally is with the clergy. And yet some hesitate not to avow, that property should have an influence, since it is the only way for a clergyman to secure 'an elegant competency.'

After Dr. Mayhew had leave to visit in the family, with a view to the connexion with Miss Clark, some officious gossips attempted to prevent it, by suggesting to her parents, especially to her good mother, that the Doctor was a great *heretic*; and it might be cause of regret hereafter if they should consent to the marriage. This attempt might have succeeded, had not some of the relations of the family, who were religious characters, but of more candor than many others of that day, interfered in favor of Dr. Mayhew—persons who knew his real worth; who knew that he was less heretical than generally reputed to be, and were aware of the sincerity of his regards for the lady. After some little interruption, on this account, the marriage took place; and proved most happy to Dr. Mayhew and Miss Clark. I cannot forbear giving some extracts from the Doctor's letters to Miss Clark, and to her brother, at this time; as they discover some traits of his character, not to be seen in the statement of his writings on religious and political subjects, or of his more public services. They will show that even a studious and literary man may be susceptible of the *tender passion;* and yet they will not make him appear ridiculous, as some of the love letters of the *pious* Doddridge have done that celebrated divine.

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* The Clark family was descended from Gov. Saltonstall, and from Hubbard, of Ipswich, who was a descendant of the celebrated William Whittingham, an early puritan minister.

'March 10, 1756.*

'Dear Sir,—One Mr. Jo. Bill, has promised, by his curious art of cookery, to turn a calf's-head and pluck into a good sea-turtle for us to-day. I do not suppose that you have any particular love of such sort of food, and hope I have not myself, However, this metamorphosed calf's-head may possibly be a curiosity to you; and if you will come and partake of it with me, you will have the pleasure of Mr. Quincy's† company, who may at present, perhaps, find no inconvenience from such a diet.

'Yours most affectionately,
'J. Mayhew.

'P. S. I was going to request you to present my compliments to Miss Betsey:‡ but I do not like the formality of that word. I desire you would, in plain old English, give my hearty love to her: but do not, for the world, let her know a syllable of what I have written about turtle food. For you know ministers ought, in all propriety and prudence, to be very grave, not to say stupid ; and for them to jest, in any way, about such things, is almost as bad as *heresy*.' *

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* This familiar note may be thought hardly proper to be given; as not being sufficiently grave for such a man as Dr. Mayhew. But it is indicative of a trait of characteristic pleasantry, which his intimate friends often mentioned. Dr. Clark, to whom it is addressed, was a brother of the lady whom Dr. Mayhew married soon after.

† Edmund Quincy, his intimate friend, and one of his parish, who wrote a character of Dr. Mayhew, soon after his death.

‡ Afterwards Mrs. Mayhew.

'Boston, June 10, 1756.

'Dear Betsey,—This is one of the most unnecessary, impertinent letters that ever you received ; the chief design of it being to tell you, only what you know so well already, that I never can forget you : and that no distance of place can lessen my love and regards to you. I intend, with submission to providence, to see you at Waltham, on Saturday next, or at the farthest on Monday. I would not willingly indulge a suspicion that any advantage will be taken of my absence, to prejudice me in your esteem. However, if any attempts of this nature should be made, I flatter myself they will be in vain. I am persuaded, from the experience I have had of your constancy and fidelity, that I am concerned with a person of the greatest honor and generosity ; and accordingly place the most unreserved confidence in you. Believe me, charming creature, I most ardently long to see you ; but, in the mean time, must content myself with giving you this epistolary testimony of my regards ; the best indeed, it is in my power, to give at present.

'Heaven first taught letters for some wretch's aid,
Some banish'd lover, or some captive maid ;
They live, they speak, they breathe what love inspires
Warm from the soul, and faithful to its fires:—
Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh from India to the pole.'

'I used to admire these lines, before I was a lover ; now I feel their force and propriety. I need not multiply words ; or rather, it would be to no purpose to do it ; because words, however multiplied, cannot express how much, and how sincerely, I am yours. J. Mayhew.

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* An attempt had just before been made, by certain pharisaical, meddlesome people, to prevent a connexion between Dr. Mayhew and Miss Clark, on a charge of *heresy*, which had some effect on the mind of Mrs. Clark, and served to delay the connexion.

'P. S. The hurry I am in, must be my apology for sending you a letter with so many blots, and so incorrectly written, in other respects. It has only truth and sincerity to recommend it; which, though of little consideration with many of your sex, will not, I hope, be wholly disregarded by you. My duty to your mamma, if you think proper to present it.
'J. M.'

The following was addressed to Dr. William Clark.

'Dear Sir,—I propose to give Mrs. Adams notice this morning, that I shall wait upon her, with you, in the afternoon, to drink tea, &c.—and shall accordingly expect you to call upon me after dinner. Please to tell Miss Betsey how tenderly I love her, and how I long for the day when I can call her mine.

'Yours affectionately,
'J. Mayhew.

'Thursday, A. M.'

Copy of a letter from Dr. Mayhew to Mrs. Mayhew, who was then at Waltham, where her father had a farm, and where the family spent part of the summer.

'This will inform you that we are all well; at least, as well as can be expected, while you are absent. I now hear our little daughter talking pretty fast, but I cannot understand her. I suppose she is calling her mamma, and wants her to come home. Either your brother or I shall probably be at Waltham on Friday, to bring you down to Boston, unless your good mother should be so ill that you cannot well leave her. I spent most of yesterday at the north-end, and dined with your brother. To-day I am going on the water. I have advised Dorcas to send for her sister to stay with her; for I do not choose she should be alone with the child through the day. I pray you give my duty to your father and mother, and believe me your ever loving and tender husband, who longs to see you.

'J. Mayhew.'

The following was written, probably, in August or September, 1765, at the time of the riots, on account of the stamp act—a day of great alarm.

'My Dear,—I am now at Mr. Shepherd's. There is a military watch appointed this evening; so that I conclude all will be quiet. But if you choose I should be at home, and will send me word, I will come immediately.

'J. Mayhew.'

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I will add here—though it is out of place, as to the order of time—because it seems to show the wit and pleasantry of Mayhew, a letter from him to Samuel Cooper,* who was afterwards the pastor of the church in Brattle-square.

'Cambridge, Dec. 5, 1743.

'Sir,—I received yours some days since, and must beg your pardon for not acknowledging the favor sooner; though I must, like other *half* penitents, endeavor to extenuate my fault, by saying it was unavoidable. For the omission proceeded partly from my having a great deal of business on my hands, of late, and partly from laziness—the college disease. Now, sir, you will readily acknowledge the first to be a good excuse, so far as it goes; and as to the latter, laziness, that is so deep rooted as mine, as effectually binders the person from doing any thing, as if he was bound down head and foot, with all the new hemp cords, green withs, and braided hair, that the wicked Jezebel, (*Delilah*, I would have said,) tied her lusty spouse with. Now you know that a physical inability is (by some divines,) alleged as a good apology for a man's not doing what would otherwise have been his duty; and, on this account, I hope you will not be very severe, but show that you are not implacable in your resentments, by giving me a speedy answer: for to tell the truth, your delaying to write me, would be the greatest punishment of my indolence that I can imagine.

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* Mr. Cooper had his degree in 1743, and Mr. Mayhew in 1744—Brandon in 1742.

'I have now, before I was aware of it, by telling you what would be the most severe way to revenge yourself on me, put it into your power to play the tyrant. But since you are a man, and not a *woman*, I am in some hope you will not catch at every favorable opportunity to torment me.

'There is our good friend, Brandon, has laid under the Lady Clio's wrath and discipline ever since last spring, till the poor thing is quite emaciated, he not being more bulky at present than two ordinary men. But I expect to see him swell to his former dimensions in a short time: for I must tell you that he has appeased the anger of the little tyranness at last, got out of purgatory, and is to be blest above the lot of mortals, in waiting on the lady to * * * * *, tomorrow, with some other company going to attend Mr. P * * * * and his new-married wife out of town. I hope, in pity to the wedded couple, that the severity of the weather will abate; for it will be hard indeed to have winter both without and within doors. I say winter *within*, because it is said that a cold season commonly comes about a month after marriage, when all the springs of affection are commonly exhausted or frozen up, even in those who just before were sweltering in the sultry dog-days of love.

'Well, I have been rambling, I know not where. It is time to return home, and conclude, lest I should have occasion to make a long apology for being tedious. I hope your next will be in doggrel; not but I like your prose as well as any man's living—but yet, methinks a little jingle of yours would make my soul all ear and all harmony.

'Your honest friend,

'J. MAYHEW.'

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One of the most interesting discourses published by Dr. Mayhew, was that on the death of Hon. Stephen Sewall, Chief Justice of the province, who was a member of his church, and one of his most intimate friends: for it might be said to have been, in a great measure, extempore. It was delivered on the Lord's-day after the death of that excellent man, who died on Thursday, 10th of September, 1760, at the age of fifty-eight. And while it is a high eulogy on the Chief Justice, it displays the generous friendship and honorable feelings of the writer, as well as his ability in drawing the character of a great and good man.*

The discourse begins in this abrupt manner:—'Would to God, (if I may so express myself, without seeming to blame the sovereign will and wisdom,) that I had not so melancholy an occasion as I have, to desist, at this time, from the subject on which I have lately been discoursing to you. But God, who hath his will in heaven, and on the earth, hath, in his holy and inscrutable providence, given me this occasion, by the death of an honorable person of our society. And though I have rather an aversion to the common practice of making long eulogiums on the dead, considering how often they are prostituted, yet I thought you would hardly excuse me, and, indeed, I could not excuse myself, if I neglected to take particular notice of the life and death of so distinguished a character as Judge Sewall. But, in truth, though I know not well how to be silent on this occasion; yet, on the other hand, I am so deeply touched, so penetrated hereby, that I hardly know how to speak. For, alas! one, indeed the far better part of myself, seems torn away from me, while the other is left wounded, panting, and bleeding. So that if my discourse should appear broken and unconnected, your candor, I hope, will suggest some apology for me. Whatever I shall say of this excellent man's character, shall be the genuine dictate of my heart, and not the fruit of study or invention. For sorrow, you know, does not aim much at being correct or methodical.'

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* Samuel Sewall, a former Chief Justice, was his uncle. His father was Stephen Sewall, Esq., of Salem, a very respectable, worthy character. Judge Sewall received his first degree in Harvard college, in 1721; and was a tutor afterwards, from 1728 to 1739. He was some time a member of the Council, and when he died was Chief Justice of the highest judicial tribunal in the province. He was appointed to that place, in preference to several others, who were judges before him. He was never married, and died at the age of fifty-eight.

Some paragraphs from this discourse cannot be uninteresting, and are therefore here introduced.

'I had reason to love and honor him as a father, though so great was his humility and condescension, that if I had called him my friend and brother, I believe he would not have been offended with me. And it would be a just and great reproach to me, if I did not now sincerely honor his memory, and show some public respect to it; especially, since by doing this, and by recollecting his many good qualities, we may be excited to imitate his virtues. And I must forewarn you that my discourse on this occasion, unless my strength and spirits should quite fail me, will be much longer than is usual for me to be.*

'But amidst all my sorrow and great heaviness of heart, I shall have one consolation, and that is the assurance that whatever I may say in honor of this excellent man, none of my hearers will think me excessive in his eulogium, but heartily join with me in paying this public regard to his memory, which will be some alleviation of my grief.'

Others have spoken of Sewall, as a benevolent, pious, and highly exemplary character, in all the relations of life, and also as an efficient and faithful friend of Harvard college. 'As a Christian,' says Dr. Mayhew, 'he might justly be held up for a model to others, both in public and private life. He had a deep and habitual reverence of God on his mind; and I have more than once heard him speak with great pleasure of that trait in the character of Sir Matthew Hale, Chief Justice of the king's bench, in that he was never known to mention the holy and venerable name of God, without making a pause in his discourse or conversation.† He was a firm believer in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and in the religion which he revealed and taught, as contained in the holy scriptures. He read his bible much and often. He constantly attended, as you are witnesses, the public worship of God, and the ordinances of the gospel, with great reverence and devotion; which, though he was an enemy to ostentation in every thing, and especially in religion, were often so apparent in his countenance, that one could not observe it, without having his own devotion raised and improved, if he had any; and if he had none before, hardly without catching thereby something of the same from him. And, as he was exemplary in his attendance on the public worship of God, I have also reason to believe that he worshipped God in his family—though I have never made it my business to creep into houses, or pry into other people's domestic concerns, like heathen priests of old.

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* Probably an hour and a half. It makes sixty-two pages, open octavo.

† The same has been said of Sir Isaac Newton and Sir Robert Boyle.

'He was a firm and zealous friend to the principles of religious liberty, and the sacred rights of conscience. No man was more free from superstition, or from the sordid, illiberal spirit of party. No man was more catholic towards Christians of different denominations, or farther from a spirit of bigotry, contention and censoriousness. He appeared to have a great concern for the interests of religion in the world: and, by repeated conversations with him on the subject, I know he had very much at heart the forming of some plan or method for propagating the gospel among the native tribes of North America. Indeed, his whole life was apparently conducted under the influence and according to the precepts of our holy religion. If there were any virtue more conspicuous in this good man than another, it seems to have been charity and beneficence. A more tender, sympathising and bountiful heart, no man, perhaps, ever had. His heart appeared not only always open, but expanded wide; even 'wide as the earth, and broad as the sea;' and had his fortune been of the same dimensions as his soul, he would have been the common public almoner, (even without being appointed by any,) under God, to the discharge of that office. For, though his income was very moderate, or even scanty, and such as most persons in his station would have thought insufficient for their support, with great economy; yet it is well known, that of that small income he spent a large part in deeds of charity and beneficence. Often did the 'blessing of the poor, and of him who was ready to perish,' come upon him.

'Such are the outlines of the character of this excellent and amiable man. And if he, who has been faithful in a few things, is to be made ruler over many things, how highly must we suppose this eminently faithful servant of God will be exalted, on entering into the joy of his Lord, at the last day? Yea, rather, how happy, how highly exalted, may we suppose him to be already? All that was mortal of him, is indeed deposited in the tomb, 'not to rise till the heavens be no more.' 'But his righteouness shall endure when they are folded up and changed.' Methinks I saw him, when the law of death was passed upon him, conveyed, by those ministering spirits, who are sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation, to the paradise of God—himself no more a frail man, but an angel; a glorious, and immortal spirit, even as a 'flame of fire'! And this without any great change in him. For there was little more needed, than to set such a soul at liberty from its incumbrance and prison, the body. Hail, then, immortal spirit, hail!—whether man or angel, the difference is not great—no longer incumbered with mortality, nor confined to earth and darkness; but introduced among the spirits of just men made perfect; to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and church of the first-born; to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant; and to God, the judge of all: in his light, to see light; and to drink joy and immortality, not at shallow streams, but from inexhaustible fountains. And thou, precious dust, or lifeless body soon to become dust, rest thou in hope. For even thou shalt hear the voice of the Son of God, and live; and when all who die in the Lord shall also be equal to the angels, and shall be the children of God, being the children of the RESURRECTION.'

CHAPTER V.

Letters to Dr. Mayhew, from Rev. Dr. John Reynolds, Rev. Nathaniel Paeie, Jasper Manduit, Esq.—Commencement of correspondence with Mr. Hollis, Mr. Allen, and others—Sermons on striving to enter into the strait gate, and to young men.

In 1759, Rev. Dr. John Reynolds, of Totness, in England, sought the correspondence of Dr. Mayhew; having read many of his publications, and being a personal and religious friend of Dr. Benson, Dr. Lardner, and others, who were previously acquainted with the character of the learned American writer and divine. Dr. Reynolds wrote in reply to some deistical writers of his time, and was held in high estimation in England, for his theological learning and his liberal sentiments in religion. Dr. Reynolds' first letter bears date, January, 1759, in which he says—

'A letter from this part of the world, and from one who is an utter stranger, may seem to need some apology; but your character, as an advocate for truth and christian liberty, renders it, I believe, unnecessary; especially, as I have nothing else in view, but to serve the interest of the best of causes—catholic Christianity.*

'A friend of mine, who is acquainted with some of the prelates of the established church, says they also complain of the intolerance and bigotry of the dissenters, and especially of the congregational clergy in New-England. And indeed it were to be wished, that among the dissenters there were none who acted inconsistent with their avowed principles; at least, with that principle by which alone their dissent can be justified. Too many such are to be found every where; but it is nothing but justice that criminations of this nature should be wiped off as far as possible. On this account, sir, it is, that I have given you this trouble. Rev. Dr. Johnson, of Connecticut, I understand, complains that the children of episcopalians cannot be educatèd in Yale college, unless they consent to avoid the episcopal churches, and worship with the congregationalists; and that they are fined, if they attend the forms of worship according to the church of England. The *true* state of this matter is what I and some others here desire. I know very well that accounts, relating to the differences between the episcopal church and dissenters, which are transmitted to the society for propagating the gospel, from time to time, by their missionaries and agents, are very little to be depended on; and that the pompous accounts, published from their letters, are, in many things, wide from the truth. But, as I fear there may be some truth in these accounts, I wish to know the true state of facts. Still I think any one may see that it bears no comparison with the terms of admission into our English universities; where they not only require attendance on the establishment, but subscriptions to articles of faith.* For the honor of the christian name, it is greatly to be wished that all degrees of imposition were laid aside. For till forbearance and love are universally practised among Christians, there can be but little union; and without union, but little hope of seeing that happy day when the name of God and of his Son Jesus shall be glorified through all the earth.

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* Dr. Reynolds had been favored with Dr. Mayhew's sermons on the right of private judgment, &c., by Dr. Benson.

'Pardon, sir, the trouble I give you. It is very uncertain whether it will ever be in my power to serve you. If it should, I trust you would not find me backward in doing it. I have been about twenty years pastor of a congregation of protestant dissenters in this place. The interest of vital Christianity is much lessened since the days of our fathers.

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* Every candidate for a doctor's degree in physic, must subscribe the thirty-nine articles.

Our churches wear a different face from what they did thirty years ago: and those who knew them thirty years before that, cannot but look on the present state of them with the same sentiments and emotions of spirit that the elders had, when they compared the rising temple with their former one. Seventy years of external peace has not been attended with a proportionable degree of internal peace, purity and love. The divisions that were among us in 1719, 1720, did the interests of religion an irreparable injury.* God grant that the bigotry and false zeal of many, on one hand, and the lukewarmness of others with regard to the practical part of religion, and the want of charity with all, may not complete our ruin; and that, both in our and your part of the world, not only the rights of mankind, and christian liberty, may be better understood than they were by our fathers, but that we may equal, if not excel them, in the most amiable part of their character.

'May the Almighty put a better spirit into all the professors of religion. May not Britons, either on the eastern or western shores of the Atlantic, be lifted up and become insolent and tyrannical; so that the savage nations may never have reason to lament the expulsion of the French, but date the era of peace among themselves and with the English around them, of trade and commerce, of humanity and true religion, from the present time.

'I remain, sir, a well-wisher to your comfort and usefulness in life, and your brother and fellow servant in the gospel.

'P. S. If it would not cause you much trouble, I should be glad to receive a brief account of the religious state of things in New-England: particularly of the state of the college at Cambridge, and of the number and state of your churches in Boston, and their ministers.'

It appears by another letter from Dr. Reynolds, in 1763, that Dr. Mayhew answered his former one, and gave some account of the college, and of the clergy; and it is matter of great regret that this letter has not been preserved. For, no doubt, it contained remarks on the character and the theological opinions of most of the eminent ministers of that period. And, as Dr. Mayhew was not in the habit of disguising or misrepresenting any thing, we should have the truth, and his sentiments in addition, respecting the then prevailing theological doctrines in New-England. The reply of Dr. Reynolds may lead to conjectures of the purport of Dr. Mayhew's letter: and some extracts from it here follow.

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* At that period there was a long and unhappy division in the dissenting churches of Great Britain, respecting doctrinal points.

'A friend of mine, Mr. Samuel Shepard, going for Boston, I gladly embrace the opportunity of acknowledging the favor of your answer to my letter, in the year 1759, respecting Yale college, and my obligations to you on that account.* I am concerned to learn, that there is any foundation for the complaint of the Bishop of Worcester, [referred to in the former letter.] However, I am not without hope, from your letter, that a more catholic spirit is prevailing, on the whole. The labors of learned and worthy men, of different denominations, which have been lately published, by which the cause of virtue, religion, and liberty, both civil and religious, is more and more illustrated and defended, I trust, is an omen for good; and a ground for hope, that things are, in the course of providence, tending apace towards that day when truth and righteousness shall prevail in the earth. God grant that the British nation may not, by any future conduct, forfeit the honor of being chiefly instrumental in it.

'Of the many designs for diffusing light through the world, you will, I presume, from your known character, as a friend to truth in general, and to divine revelation in particular, agree with me, that the collating of ancient Hebrew MS. copies of the Old-Testament, in order to publish that part of the sacred scriptures in a more correct form, is as important as any lately undertaken, and appears likely to be of great service to the christian interest. You are probably acquainted with the nature of the design, and the progress of it hitherto. Some of the corrections are important, but I need not enter into particulars. Yet I cannot but remark, that it appears some errors have got into the Hebrew copies, since our Savior's time, through design; which again, by the implicit confidence the Fathers had in the fidelity of the Jews, got into the versions then in use. And the moderns also, from a high opinion of the perfection of the printed Hebrew text, have not scrupled, often, to make the ancient versions conform to such printed Hebrew, though their copies of those versions read differently. This has been found to be the case of the Chaldee variations, as published by Walton. He sometimes deviated from his MS. copy, to make it conform to the printed Hebrew, and has given no notice of it. How cautious then should we be in trusting even well-meaning men, if we would not be imposed on. But I forbear enlarging on these matters—and trust that these hints will not be unacceptable to one, who, on all occasions, shows himself an advocate for freedom of inquiry. The world in general yet labors under many old prejudices, which must be got over before truth can shine forth. Happy he, who has the fewest; and worthy of the highest regard is that man, who dares, in spite of popular clamor, to search out truth and to pursue it.

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*It is not now recollected to what this specially refers. The difficulty in Yale college, on account of the rector, a tutor, and some of the trustees, becoming episcopalians, was nearly forty years before. At a later period, however, there was some difficulty in that institution, produced by the reputed want of orthodoxy in some of its officers.

'I rejoice to learn from you, that seminaries are from time to time erecting in America; and especially where they are on a catholic plan, as I apprehend that at Philadelphia is. That at New-York, I fear, will be too much under the influence of our English bishops, from whom little good is ever to be expected. The keeping up of their authority, and furthering of a worldly interest, too often disposes the greater part of them to take measures which would not suit the colonies.

'I lately saw an article in a London paper, stating a large sum of money given for endowing the first bishoprick which shall be erected in North America.

'I should be much obliged to you for any intelligence, of a religious or literary character, from your part of the world.

My health for many years has been feeble, and is now in such a state as that I expect every winter to be my last: but whether the term of life be longer or shorter, it is wisdom to be always ready. May you long be useful in your station. I commend you to the divine blessing, and am, &c.'

An extract from a letter of Rev. Nathaniel Pacie, who was a member of the old society, in England, for propagating the gospel in New-England, may be here presented, as referring to one previously received by him from Dr. Mayhew. It bears date, London, October 31, 1755.

'I received your favor of July, and soon after the volume of your sermons;* for which please accept my thanks. It was contrary to my sentiments, that a gratuity so small as £10, should be all the society conferred on your honored father. Had my opinion prevailed, a more ample testimony would have been given of our sense of his many years' faithful and laborious services—however short even that might have fallen of the desert of them. But a good man at fourscore, is just in sight of his *prize;* and anticipation feeds him with sweeter bread than the delicacies of the most ample fortune. The watchman may cry, and the people despise: but if he have faithfully warned them of their danger, whether they hear, or whether they forbear——may you know the comfort of the rest. Your countrymen deserve high praise for their conduct, on your frontiers, near Canada; and they have it with all good people,† for their intrepid behavior. It is too much out of fashion, at present, to depend on God for any thing; but of him, I pray you may be conducted to complete success over your enemies; and many years after sit down in peace, till the great kingdom of heaven gathers all good men together.'

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* Probably those on hearing and receiving the preached word with meekness, &c.

† This refers to the war with the French, in Canada; and brave and useful as were the New-England troops, the English were unwilling to acknowledge it.

The correspondence of Mr. Hollis, of London, with Dr. Mayhew began in 1759; but before that period, Mr. Hollis, having some knowledge of his high character, as a very warm and able friend of civil and religious liberty—a cause which he was himself desirous of promoting in England—sent books to Dr. Mayhew, by the hands of his friends. One of these was Mr. Mauduit, some time agent for Massachusetts, in Great Britain. Some extracts from his letters to Dr. Mayhew, cannot fail to be interesting; and it is much to be regretted that the letters of Dr. Mayhew to Mr. Mauduit have not been preserved. Mauduit was a dissenter, and of liberal views, in theology; and was, also, especially in the former part of his agency, deemed a friend to the liberties of America. It is not strange, therefore, that such a character as Mayhew should seek or accept the correspondence of this agent of the province. In February, 1755, Mr. Mauduit wrote to Dr. Mayhew as follows:

'At the request of a gentleman, lately returned from his travels on the continent,* and who has brought home a confirmed sense of English liberty, I have put on board capt. ———, a box, directed to you, containing prints of that great statesman, Algernon Sidney—a set for Harvard college, and a Sidney, bound, as a present to yourself. He says his inducement to send them to you, in preference to any other, is from your sermon on government.† I had not the pleasure of knowing this gentleman till now; who has a generous spirit for the public good, of which his own history of the print is an instance. Such as have not lived in France, he says, cannot have a just idea of their arbitrary government; and he related the following instances: A man built a neat country house, and laid out his gardens in good taste, between Paris and Versailles, who was soon obliged to give it up to count ——, by the order of the king, and for three-quarters less than it cost, because the count liked the situation. The other was a tradesman, a potter, who had travelled abroad and acquired the art of making china-ware. He set up his business in Paris, and was patronized by a dutchess, and succeeded so well in business, that he erected several houses and large works for his trade—when, on a sudden, madame Pompadour obtained the king's order to him, to quit his business, and give up all his works to a favorite, and at such a price as quite beggared the man.

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* Understood to be Mr. Hollis, who resided sometime in Italy, and who was a man of good taste in the fine arts.

† His election sermon in 1754, or his discourse respecting the character and death of Charles I.

'Some of these prints are sent to Connecticut and other provinces; which may have their use, and increase the abhorrence of the French government. Please accept my respects, with acknowledgments of my great esteem, for the services you have done and are now doing for the christian and protestant world, in which I most heartily wish you great success.'

In September, 1755, Mr. Mauduit again wrote to Dr. Mayhew, as follows:

'Your favor, of July, I duly received, together with the volume of sermons; for both which I am much obliged to you; for it gives me great pleasure to meet, in any part of the world, such as are sincere patrons of the civil and religious liberties of mankind. The gentleman who sent you the Sidneys, is truly so; and I doubt not will think himself obliged to you for your present, when I have an opportunity of forwarding it. I hope it will please God still to protect and support you in your endeavors for the benefit of mankind; and also the government with you and with us, against our perfidious enemies. Success depends on an infinitely wise providence, which governs the world far better than we can propose. In the mean time, though the oppressor and the oppressed both fall untimely, the latter, even when he falls, feels a joy far greater than the former possibly can in his unjust conquests.'

In November, 1757, Mr. Mauduit writes—

'I have sent you, by capt. ——, a box of books, put on board his ship, directed to your good self: the freight has been paid by my friend, who sends it to you. He does not choose I should tell you his name; and if I should say, it comes from the same person, [Hollis,] who sent, some time ago, that fine volume of Sidney, it would be more than I have directions to do. We have still many—blessed be God for it!—in this degenerate country, who breathe, naturally, the spirit of liberty, as well as the worthy gentleman to whom I have alluded.'

The following letter, from Mr. Mauduit, dated London, July, 1756, must not be omitted.

'The gentleman, who sent you Sidney on government, last year, has desired me to convey to you the enclosed copy of Milton. I thank you for your sermons. One copy was sent, as you desired, to our mutual friend. I most heartily wish you great success in your endeavors to strengthen the glorious cause of christian liberty; and I hope, and please myself with the expectation, that these kingdoms and your country, though hell scolds, will produce honest and brave Christians, to maintain that liberty of conscience wherewith Christ has made us free, until that happy time come 'when none shall hurt or destroy any more in God's holy mountain.' May the honest and sincere, both in your country and in England, be upheld against the pusillanimous, the profane, and the hypocritical; and, by God's favor, deliver the two countries from the base-spirited and tyrannically disposed. Pray excuse my freedom of expression, as personally we are strangers; but minds are the same through the whole moral creation of God. I tender you freely my most sincere regards, and subscribe myself, with great esteem, &c.'

Among the papers preserved by the family of Dr. Mayhew, there are several letters from William Allen, of Philadelphia; but none of Dr. Mayhew's letters to him have been discovered. This gentleman is supposed to have been a justice of the highest judicial court in Pennsylvania, for several years, from 1756 to 1765. He was also some time an agent in England from that province. He ranked high among the literary characters of his day, and was early a member of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, first formed by Dr. Franklin, and others, in 1755, and revived with additional spirit, in 1767. From some of his letters, it appears that Mr. Allen was also a friend to free inquiry, and to civil and religious liberty. His first letter bears date, Philadelphia, March, 12, 1761; in which he observes—

'From your very kind letter, I perceive that you have learnt from whom the small matter was lately sent for your acceptance; though this was contrary to my intention. But I readily excuse Mr. ——, for informing you who had forwarded it, as it has been the occasion of my being favored with the correspondence of a gentleman of your great worth and piety.

'I am not a little obliged to you for your kind and favorable sentiments of me; but I conclude, from what you are pleased to say, that you have had my character from some of my friends. We are not half so bad as our *prejudiced* enemies would make us; nor so good as our friends would have the world believe. I know myself to be a poor frail creature, and have great reason to apply daily to the throne of grace, to pardon my sins both of omission and commission. I never aimed at a higher character than that of an honest man; to which, I would humbly hope, I have some small pretensions. My cast of mind is, *quod ago, valde ago*, (what I do, to do well). It therefore becomes me to be circumspect, before I set my hand to the plough.*

'I can readily conceive and sincerely pity your situation, among calvinistic and episcopalian bigots.† 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!'—and if any one is honest and bold enough to attack her temple, or idol, the hornets will be soon about his ears; and had they power equal to their will, would sting him even to death. Religious hatred is of all others the fiercest and most unrelenting. One may venture to affirm, however, that those, of whom this kind of rage has taken possession, are but bad disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus; and however they may be styled *orthodox*, they cannot, with truth and propriety, be entitled to that character; nor even to that of true Christians. For our great teacher has assured us, that to love God and our neighbor, is the substance of religion.

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* It is not known to what particular undertaking, Mr. Allen here alludes, whether as a judge, or a public agent; or to a religious life.

† It has been already noticed how Dr. Mayhew was shunned and censured as a heretic. And this opposition and reproach continued even when he was devoting all his time and talents to defend the liberty of the New-England churches.

'I pray God that you may be enabled to persevere in your search after truth; and that you may still have the fortitude to deliver the true doctrines of Christianity, with all the boldness which a consciousness of your being right, and a lively sense of the trust reposed in you, as a minister of the gospel, should inspire. Such conduct will probably procure you more esteem among the discerning and worthy. But if that should not be the case, and you should be an outcast in a sinful world, you still have a sure word of promise, that will never fail you; and have a nobler master to serve, and friend to repose in, than any earthly being.

'It is much to be desired that more, among christian teachers, would follow your good example. God would raise them up friends, even in this world, if it be evident they are sincere and earnest, and not time-servers, or pleasers of men. The conduct of some ministers, in time of trial, makes the love of others grow cold. It is probable there will be but few instances of setting at nought all worldly things, for the sake of truth and a good conscience, among the laity, if the clergy are seen to make their religion subservient to their personal ease and profit.

'I thank you for your kind intention of sending me your works. I assure you I shall esteem them a most valuable present. Besides the volume which Mr. —— has favored me with, I have lately purchased another, re-printed in London; the perusal of both which gave me great pleasure. I have the greatest abhorrence of some of the peculiar doctrines of calvinism, as destructive of true piety. It therefore affords me much satisfaction to see the *crew* attacked in their strong holds.* I esteem the presbyterian, or rather your congregational system, to be much more agreeable to primitive Christianity, than episcopacy. But I conceive the dissenting interest to be much weakened, and in danger of being annihilated, by ministers' insisting on doctrines, absurd in themselves, and quite unworthy of the great Author of our being. They are so far right, as to strip religion of useless and superstitious ceremonies. Still they contend for dark and inexplicable dogmas, without any other authority than what may be found in their human system of theology. I agree with you, that there are many pious, good persons, who imbibe calvinistic sentiments; but they are good, in spite of their opinions; for these tend to enervate, and to render useless, every precept of the gospel.'—[Dr. Mayhew had probably expressed a favorable opinion of many calvinists, notwithstanding their erroneous tenets. He had known many pious and good men among them, and he could approve their piety and virtue, while he opposed their peculiar speculative opinions.]

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*Referring, probably, to the discourses on the right of private judgment, and on hearing and receiving the word with meekness.

'I beg you would present my compliments to Dr. Chauncy, of your city, with whom formerly I had some acquaintance. I sincerely wish you all health and happiness; and shall be fond of an opportunity to render you any acceptable service, and of demonstrating how much I am, reverend sir, your friend, &c.'

In April, 1763, Mr. Allen wrote Dr. Mayhew—

'I intend soon to start for England, and shall be happy if you will make me known to some of your correspondents there, whose hearts are fraught with sentiments similar to your own; and it will afford me great pleasure, if I can be of any service to the dissenting interest, or to rational religion.' *

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* I shall give other letters of Mr. Allen, in another place.—It may be deemed a want of correctness, that the order of time has not been strictly observed, in all cases, in the introduction of letters. The apology for this is, the severe sickness of the editor for several weeks, while the work was in press.

It has been already observed, that the correspondence between Mr. Hollis, of London, and Dr. Mayhew, began in 1759, when the former sent a box of books to Dr. Mayhew. He had ordered some others, the year before, which were lost. In May, 1760, Dr. Mayhew wrote to Mr. Hollis, acknowledging the receipt of a box of books, for the library of Harvard college, and of a parcel for himself. In this letter, Dr. Mayhew speaks of the privilege which Mr. Hollis must enjoy, in belonging to several societies, with other benevolent and opulent men, who might do great good to England and to the rest of the world; and he refers to an intimation, in the letter of Mr. Hollis to him, of 'having a society formed in Boston, similar to the Royal Society in London, and to the society for the encouragement of commerce and the arts, which might be of public benefit to New-England.' Dr. Mayhew acknowledges that this hint of his benevolent friend, Hollis, discovers a very generous concern for the welfare and improvement of the people in America, especially in Massachusetts, and adds—'I have conversed with some of the most learned and public-spirited men among us, on this point, informing them that the suggestion came from you. Their opinion is—and I cannot dissent from it in this respect—that we are hardly yet ripe for engaging in designs of this nature. It is supposed we have not among us a sufficient number of persons, of such extensive knowledge, fortune, leisure, and public spirit, as is necessary for the undertaking. However, though we are, at present, a young and small, we are a flourishing and increasing people; at least, shall be, when it shall please God to give us peace in our borders.* And I do not despair of seeing, in time, such useful institutions among us, as those mentioned; especially if you, sir, and others like you, should continue to patronize and encourage us.' †

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* The war was then raging in Canada, between England and France.

† A society for encouraging economy and industry, existed in Boston several years before this time, and was attended with great benefit to the people. But the first philosophical and literary society in Massachusetts, was formed in 1780, viz.: 'The American Academy of Arts and Sciences.' The 'American Philosophical Society,' in Philadelphia, was founded more than thirty years before, by Dr. Franklin, and others.

In answer to this letter, Mr. Hollis says—

'As to the opinion of your learned and public-spirited friends in Boston, who suppose you are hardly ripe enough there yet to institute a society of any kind, whether for the promotion of natural knowledge, art, or commerce, I humbly beg leave to say, neither did we think ourselves ripe enough here in England, for such designs, till so late as the year 1660; when the Royal Society was instituted, not by favor of *many*, but by the wisdom and energy of a *few*:—Mr. Hartlib, a foreigner, (to whom Milton addressed his matchless treatise on education,) Mr. Boyle, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Sprat, and some others. Nor was it till 1753—to our shame be it declared—and long after such societies had obtained and flourished in Scotland and Ireland, that the society for promoting arts and commerce, was established here; the first meeting of which consisted of only twelve persons, who were brought together with difficulty, and were rather well disposed, than able or of rank. I am, therefore, humbly of opinion, that one or more society may be formed at Boston, exceedingly to the benefit of that place, and our North American colonies; not only in respect of knowledge, science, art, and elegance of civil life and manners, but to commerce and money matters. A museum, at least, with a public library and a botanical garden,* annexed to it, as here, might certainly be instituted; which may take the name of the Boston Museum; or, if a more extensive title should be preferred, the New-England Museum; and will serve as an example from you, the mother colony—and a noble one—to every other province.

'If still your learned and most public-spirited friends should doubt your being hardly ripe enough for such establishment, let them survey their maps of Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, Flanders, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and even barbarous Russia; and view the numerous universities and academies in these nations, and they will see that much the greater part of these academies are seated in places far inferior to Boston, for numbers of inhabitants, riches, or indeed men of learning and ingenuity. Let these gentlemen cease their diffidence, therefore, and quit a state of rest and disconnexion, and combine and act, and establish some society, as they may be able. The very attempt will be noble; and should they fail under it, they will reap honor from it, ingenuous honor. My reputation on the event, that it will succeed, and flourish proportionately, as ours at home, if planned with judgment, and conducted with unanimity and spirit, and countenanced by authority. Excuse, dear sir, these sallies. But I know to whom I write—a master-spirit—and therefore quit the subject for the present.

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* A public, or rather proprietors' library, was opened in Boston, in 1794. It has been lately proposed, also, to have a botanical garden, which it is hoped will succeed, both for the honor of the city and the benefit of the people.

In the same letter from Mr. Hollis, there is reference to an expression of president Holyoke, relating to Milton, which it is thought proper to notice. Mr. Hollis had sent Milton's works for the college library; and in a letter of thanks, Mr. Holyoke says—'Milton's works, (his political writings notwithstanding,) we esteem a great honor to the British name.' Mr. Hollis seems to have understood, from the parenthesis, that Mr. Holyoke and his associates approved of Milton's principles with some reserve; and indeed, from Mr. Holyoke's way of expressing himself, one would imagine they had real objections to those principles. In this letter to Dr. Mayhew, Mr. Hollis, after citing Mr. Holyoke's restriction, thought proper to deliver his own sentiments on Milton's political principles, as follows:

'If I understand Milton's principles, they are these—that our present government is a compact—that a king, becoming a tyrant, and the compact thereby broken, the power reverts to the constituents, the people; who may punish such tyrants as they see fit, and constitute such a new form of government as they may judge most expedient.

'It is an undoubted truth, that we owe the most noble, the most happy revolution, to his principles, and those of his friends; principles which will uphold and cherish every honest and virtuous prince, and only check and confound (which God grant!) every bad prince and every tyrant.

'You see, dear sir, if I have explained myself clearly, that it is to Milton, and to such as he, in the struggles of the civil war, and in the revolution, that we are indebted for the manifold and unexampled blessings, which we now enjoy; and president Holyoke, for liberty and his college.'

Mr. Hollis had a new edition of Toland's life of Milton printed, with his Amyntor; which, with some other books, he sent to Dr. Mayhew, in 1760. Dr. Mayhew acknowledged the receipt of them; and says—'I have distributed them according to your directions, and my own best discretion; and one of them I presented to Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant governor of the province, who is a gentleman of capacity and learning; to whom it was very acceptable.'*

Reference has been already made to Mr. Hollis's interpretation and exception of Mr. Holyoke's remark on Milton's political principles; and of Mr. Hollis's writing to Dr. Mayhew on the subject. Desirous, as it would appear, to remove any mistake of his friend, Mr. Hollis, Dr. Mayhew writes him thus, soon after:

'What was contained, in your last box, for Mr. Holyoke, I took care to send him. He is a well-disposed, worthy gentleman, and will not fail to make proper acknowledgements. His political notions and sentiments, concerning Milton, I am confident, do not differ materially from your own. These are, indeed, the principles, which, God be thanked, generally prevail in New-England. Though bigotry, in religious matters, has far too much place among us; so much, as almost makes me ashamed of my country.'

On this remark, the biographer of Hollis says—'By the word bigotry, Dr, Mayhew meant the attachment of his countrymen to a certain system of religious faith, which was much the same as that their ancestors brought with them from England; and if so, was, with respect to religious doctrines, the bigotry of Milton, as well as of Dr. Mayhew's countrymen: and indeed, runs through his poetical as well as his prose works, and did not a little influence his principles of civil government, as might be easily shown. It bred an enthusiastic zeal in the people of England, which proved fatal to the tyrant Charles and his associates. And if the Americans have not misconceived of these expressions in later times, the same sort of bigotry has not yet lost its use, in supporting their claims to liberty and independence.'*

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*Mr. Hutchinson was an advocate for whig principles, till 1765; when he came out as an apologist for the measures of the British ministry.

Soon after this period, Dr. Mayhew sent his friend, Mr. Hollis, the rudiments of Latin Prosody, by James Otis, and Professor Winthrop's lectures on earthquakes, and on comets; which were highly acceptable to Hollis, particularly as they afforded proof of the cultivation of literature and science in New-England.

About the same time, 1761-2, Dr. Mayhew wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Hollis for a box of books, intended, in part for himself, and in part for Harvard college. The letter is very important, as it refers to the subject of establishing episcopacy in America, the apprehension of which was then strong and extensive in New-England.

'We are apprehensive, that there is a a scheme forming for sending a bishop into this part of the country, and that our governor,† a true churchman, is deeply in the plot. This gives us a good deal of uneasiness, as we think it will be of bad consequence. At the same time, we are at a loss how, or in what manner, to make opposition to it. Should you hear it mentioned, I think I may assure you, that you could not do the body of the people in New-England a more essential service, or lay them under stronger obligations, than by using your influence, in such ways as may appear proper to you, to prevent this project taking effect. And I should

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*If this writer refer to the principles of the puritans on church government, and the power of christian ministers, he is correct; but if he refer to doctrinal points, his remarks are not grounded. Milton was not *orthodox*.

† Sir Francis Bernard was then in the chair; and he was very desirous of extending episcopacy in the province. It was in 1762, that governor Bernard was in favor of a college, or collegiate school, at Northampton; and more so from his dislike of Harvard college, as it was in the hands of congregationalists.

be glad if you would take an opportunity to hint something, as to this affair, to Mr. Mauduit, (the agent of the province,) and other leading dissenters in England, who might be likely, as occasion offers, to appear in opposition to such a proposal.

'There has lately been another scheme set on foot here, which we very generally believe would be highly injurious to Harvard college, and, indeed, to the general interest of learning among us. I mean that of founding another college in this province, about eighty miles distant from the former. Several persons, in that part of the country, have lately petitioned the General Court for a charter, for that purpose. But the petition, after much debate, was thrown out: since which, Mr. Bernard has taken it upon him, as the king's governor, to prepare a charter, as prayed for. This step has given an almost universal alarm and uneasiness; not only as we think the scheme itself of bad tendency, but because we generally suppose that the governor has no such authority, as he asserts and has assumed to himself, of granting charters. As soon as the overseers of Harvard college heard of the governor's taking this step, and before the said charter was actually issued, *though signed and sealed*, they had a meeting, and a committee was appointed to draw up a report, with the reasons against issuing said charter, to be laid before His Excellency; which has been accordingly done.

'These reasons, which are pretty lengthy, having been drawn up by your humble servant,* instead of some more capable person, the governor has returned answer to, such as it is. He has, however, promised to suspend said charter; but has intimated to us, that the persons who applied for it, will make application to the king for another; for which, we fear, the governor will give them his countenance. There is accordingly a large committee of the board of overseers, of which I have the honor to be one, appointed to transmit the reasons against founding another college in this province, to England, and to lodge them in some proper hands there, to be made use of, if there should be occasion, to prevent a charter being obtained from thence.

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* The rest of the committee were Gen. Brattle, James Bowdoin, Dr. Chauncy, and Rev. Amos Adams, of Roxbury.

'The committee is also empowered to make use of any other means, which to them may seem proper, to the same end. This was but three or four days ago; and we have not yet had a meeting on the subject. So that I cannot inform you to whom we shall more directly transmit the said reasons, or make our application. Mr. Mauduit, (the province agent,) has been mentioned by some persons, for the purpose. When the committee meet, I shall propose, if they are not sent immediately to you, that the person to whom they are sent shall be desired to communicate them to you, and some other worthy gentlemen, whose united and friendly assistance we shall earnestly crave, if there should be occasion, to prevent a scheme taking effect, which we apprehend would be of very pernicious consequence; of which, perhaps, you may have more light to form a judgment, when you see the said reasons. And I know you are so great a friend to this country, and to learning, that you would cheerfully lend your assistance, in any proper way, in opposition to whatever appeared to you prejudicial to either. With sincere respect, I am, &c.

'P. S. Our General Court has lately, (1762,) incorporated a number of persons here, by the name of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians in North America, of which society I am a member. The act has been sent *home*, for His Majesty's approbation, without which it cannot take effect. I shall send you a copy of it. We have, already, about £2000 subscribed as a fund. We are not without apprehension that some of our *good* friends, of the church of England, will endeavor to obstruct this scheme; but, I hope, to no purpose. If our charter is confirmed, we shall endeavor to get our subscription enlarged, both here and in other parts, and apply ourselves to this business, in the prosecution of which, however, we are in expectation of meeting with many difficulties.'*

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* This act received the negative of the king, and, it was long reported, by the influence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, &c. But it was afterwards denied, and attributed chiefly to the administration of that day, which was aiming at the whole control of the colonies, and considered it important to have episcopacy predominate, to further their political views.

The remonstrance, referred to in the preceding letter, in connection with other matters relating to a dispute with governor Bernard, will be given in the next chapter.

Mr. Hollis's letter, in reply to Dr. Mayhew's, was as follows, under date of July, 1762:

'Dear Sir.—The scheme of sending bishops into your and other parts of the British colonies, has been long talked of, and is not unlikely, some time or other, to take effect; but I do not think it will be attempted at present. Whenever it is, and succeeds, I shall be heartily concerned at it. The most proper person that I know, to oppose such a scheme, is Jasper Mauduit, who is a worthy, active man; has been now for some years, especially since the decline of Dr. Avery, a leader among the dissenters, and connected with people in power; and now, I believe, the agent for your province. He is also the most proper person to oppose, with efficacy, any application which may be made here at home, for a charter for a new college in your province—an application, which, should it succeed, would not only be prejudicial to Harvard college, and the general interest of learning among you, but probably throw you again, with others, into similar confusions, as your ancestors felt once, here at home, and got rid of magnanimously, by seeking out a residence in the woods of America.

'I am now to thank you for the great esteem and good opinion, you are pleased to entertain of me by your letter, and, in a certain sense, the honorable share you wish me to take in the affairs of your province, here at home; and I thank you heartily on these accounts. But it is necessary I should write you, on this occasion, with sincerity and plainness; the rather, as we are at a great distance, and that it will be suitable to the frankness of both our dispositions and our friendship. Know, then, that I have long declined all public business, or the taking charge or lead of any kind; that my whole time is filled up, as an uncharged, undistinguished individual of large societies, and certain private studies and pursuits; that I am, also, more and more resolved to avoid all public business; and thinking seriously in what manner, by degrees, to withdraw into the country, as also to settle there; that I should be sorry, therefore, as well as on other accounts, if your province should have recourse to me, on any public occasion; and much more concerned to deny them in form, and to return their papers; that I beg our correspondence may go on as it began, in a literary manner only, without intermixture of business of any kind, public or private, much more charges or leads of business.

'The above notwithstanding, the college and your province may, at all times, rely on my best offices, generally, in their behalf, but without charge on their part, or juncture of any sort with other persons.

'I heartily wish success to your newly incorporated society, which will *civilize* the Indians, by degrees; and no doubt be otherwise of service to them.

'This day, I have sent a small box and parcel, free from freight. The box contains prints and medals—the parcel contains a number of publications of the society for promoting arts and commerce—one for yourself, the other for the public at Boston and vicinity.

'The nation, which, at his majesty's accession to the throne, two years ago, was all harmony and concord, is now divided much more into parties than I ever knew it.

'I am, with unfeigned respect, your affectionate friend,
'T. HOLLIS.'

In Dec. 1763, after receiving copies of Dr. Mayhew's two sermons 'on the extent of the divine goodness,' and of his 'Observations,' &c., in reply to Mr. Apthorp's 'Considerations,' Mr. Hollis wrote the Doctor, and observed—'You are not, at present, in real danger from the creation of bishops in America, if I am rightly informed; though a matter *extremely desired by our clergy and prelates*, and even much talked of, at this time, among themselves. You cannot, however, be too much on your guard, in this so very important an affair.'—It appears that Mr. Hollis departed from his *neutral* course in all controversies, in being very active in the republication of Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations' on the conduct of the episcopal society in England for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, in reply to Mr. Apthorp. He says, 'I went out of my usual course in this affair, purely to help on a *noble cause,* and to show my respect for you,' (Dr. Mayhew.) 'I have to request, however,' Mr. Hollis, in great modesty adds, 'most earnestly, that you do not publish any thing concerning me,' [of his good deeds,] 'nor take any public notice of my name. Little can I serve your cause—the cause of liberty in New-England; but what I can, I *will* serve it, though by means unknown to any one; and it is with these sentiments, that I request you and your friends would not put me into any connexion with your agent.'

It was about this time, that Mr. Hollis said, in a letter to a friend, referring to Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations'—'I regret that Dr. Mayhew had not remarked on the strange impropriety of episcopal ministers attempting to convert protestant dissenters, in other countries, to the church of England, when their own people, at home, are yearly *perverted* to popery, by hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands.* All the courtiers, in my time, have sought the interest of the wealthiest papists, and have connived at their practices and perversions. A few of the inferior clergy, but learned and faithful men, have stept forth against that foul *hydra,* popery; but to little effect, being unsupported by their superiors, and to the detriment of their fortune.'

Writing again to Dr. Mayhew, soon after, Mr. Hollis remarks—'As to our domestic situation, in point of politics, it is in as wretched a plight as our religious concerns, or worse.'

In another letter, dated April, 1764, Mr. Hollis refers to the archbishop of Canterbury, who had just before published remarks on Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations.' The archbishop did not put his name to the pamphlet, but it was well known that he was the writer. Mr. Hollis had not a very exalted opinion of his *Grace,* the primate of *all* England. 'I was going to have added,' says Mr. Hollis, 'that I had the honor to be acquainted with that prelate twenty years ago, and thought myself not altogether unacquainted with his style of writing and conversing—and that since his elevation to the primacy, and the observation that he left popery unnoticed; wide-spreading, intolerant, overturning popery; and yet prosecuted, with the bitterest severity, Annet,* a poor old speculative philosopher; that he showed no hearty affection to liberty of any sort, nor to those men who loved it; that he trod with glee the mitred court-paths, and juggled for fame with his own order, who yet will never grant it to him, knowing him well to be an irregular and interloper among them from the medical tribe—I had declined, in my visits to him; and that now, on further observation of his plan and views in regard to America, and that extreme *poorness* of his conduct, in having fixed a spy on you forever, (himself,) in the centre of your land; and his general actions and connections every where; I had determined, (pardon me the boldness of the expression,) to drop him wholly.' †

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* Dr. Mayhew availed himself of this fact, in one of his future answers respecting the conduct of the episcopal society.

The biographer of Hollis also says—'They who, without respect of persons or parties, take a serious view of the present embroilment of England with the colonies, will not scruple to acknowledge that the policy of establishing prelacy in America was a considerable ingredient in the jealousy, conceived by the colonists, of the evil designs of the parent country towards them. And they who now see the pernicious fruits of that jealousy, will not think that they who were accessories in planting that root of bitterness, have any injury done to their memories, in being transmitted to posterity in their proper colors.' [1776.]

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* This has been denied, however, by some friend of the archbishop. Peter Annet published, in London, in 1762, a work entitled 'The Free Inquirer,' which contained propositions and assertions hostile to Christianity, and with a view to prove it false. It excited attention, from its novelty and temerity, but was quite inferior, both as to matter and manner. He was convicted of impiety and blasphemy, for the publication of the work, and punished by imprisonment two months at Newgate. His object seems to have been to discredit the bible; but his efforts were impotent, and he was more an object of pity than of punishment.

† Perhaps this character of the archbishop led Dr. Mayhew to speak as he does, in the passage which is given on the title-page of this Memoir. The biographer of Hollis says, 'His intercourse with this prelate, at one time, was more than a common acquaintance; and that this degenerated even below a cold civility, on the part of the prelate, who had penetration enough to perceive that such a man as Hollis had too great knowledge of the world, to be cajoled by the methods of ———, which had been tried upon some others with sufficient success.'

At this time, (1765,) Dr. Mayhew was the most intimate and confidential correspondent of Mr. Hollis in this country. Mr. Hollis often wrote him frankly on political men and measures; and also referred to his own private plan of life in future. He was then about retiring into the west of England, as he wrote Dr. Mayhew; where he promised himself more quiet, and where he could indulge his early and favorite pursuit, agriculture. But he expresses a hope still to be improving his own mind, by occasional reading, and to be useful, in his way, to the cause of letters and humanity. In another letter, about this time, Mr. Hollis repeats his surprise, to Dr. Mayhew, of the strange and inconsistent or wicked conduct of the church of England, and especially at that time, in favoring the papists, while the dissenters were oppressed. 'It is the weak side of the leaders of that church,' he says, 'and they may be attacked on it to very great advantage.'

In June, 1764, Dr. Mayhew received more books from Mr. Hollis, as well for others as for himself; for the latter was never weary in well-doing, having both the disposition and the means of diffusing benefits; and the former was a faithful almoner, as well as solicitor of the bounty of his benevolent friend. The volumes sent at this time to Dr. Mayhew, were chiefly copies of a new edition of Locke's treatise on government. Beside the copy for Dr. Mayhew, there was one for the library of Harvard college, (a short time previous destroyed by fire,) one for the college in New-Haven, one for the college at Princeton, New-Jersey, and one to the seminary at Bermuda, where bishop Berkley had, some thirty years before, proposed to erect a college, should there be a public library there; and if not, to be given away as Dr. Mayhew might judge proper. Dr. Mayhew made inquiry, but could not learn that there was a public library on that island.

Dr. Mayhew must have been a man of application and industry. His publications were very numerous, as before observed: and most of them were committed to the press, by request of his hearers and others. The greater part were republished in England, and extensively circulated there. His correspondence was also extensive, for several years, as appears from the letters he received, most of which were in reply to those written by him. Few of these have been preserved, or are known to exist.—Having noticed the letters addressed to him, which have been collected and written previously to 1762 and '63, we must now refer to his publications, which appeared at this period. Besides his volume of thirteen sermons, published in 1760, on Psalms cxix. 59, 60, already mentioned, which, though preached before, probably received some corrections and alterations from his pen, he wrote and published two discourses 'on striving to enter in at the strait gate;' and soon after, he published a volume, containing seven sermons, addressed to young men, from the following text, 'Young men also exhort to be sober-minded.' The former were able and well-studied, doctrinal and argumentative, as well as practical. For, in treating the subject, he refers to the question, discussed in one of his sermons, ('on hearing the gospel and receiving it with meekness,') of the power of man to do the will of God, or to accept and comply with the terms and invitations of the gospel. A few extracts from these two sermons, it is believed, will not fail to create an interest, at the same time that they serve to display the peculiar cast of mind and habit of thinking of the writer. And let it not be forgotten that the views he presented were then uncommon; or if others entertained the same, they had not the courage and independence to avow it.

'There is, in truth, as I have often observed to you, my hearers, but one way of life and salvation, revealed in the gospel; and that is the way which Jesus Christ himself taught; with reference to which, he says, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me:' and his inspired apostles taught and declared the same. So that there is a way of salvation. Nor is there more than one, pointed out in the gospel. It is in reference to the unity of the way of life, that the apostle says, 'there is one faith, there is one body and spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, and who is above all.'

'There is, then, as certainly but one true faith, (or one gospel, in the faith of which we can be saved,) as there is but one hope of our calling, but one Lord, or Christ, one God and Father of all. And the apostle even denounces a curse against such as should teach another gospel, or another way of salvation. If it be demanded here, what are essential truths, or what errors are fatal, it is conceived that this must be left to the judgment of God. No man can presume, without arrogance, pride, and impiety, particularly to run the line between essential and non-essential articles of faith. If God has not explicitly determined these questions—as he has not—what unwarrantable presumption is it in men to do it, as the manner of some is.

'Though the way of salvation revealed be but one; though this may be fatally misapprehended by the careless and negligent; though we ought, therefore, to use diligence that we may be rightly informed; yet it is equally certain that all mistakes and errors are not fatal. For who then could be saved?

'It would be a great reflection on the goodness and mercy of God, to suppose that every mistake, in fallible creatures, even respecting religious doctrines, were damning; or that we might sincerely and earnestly endeavor, in the use of proper means, to learn the way of salvation from Christ, or the inspired scriptures, and yet not find it, but err from it in any essential point. Such a supposition would be dishonorable to God, and would imply that the scriptures were inadequate to the express design of them, even to guide us in the way of peace, and to make us wise to salvation. And whoever denies this protestant and truly apostolic doctrine must go to Rome for a living, visible and infallible guide, unless, perhaps, he had rather set up for one himself. * * *

'In fine, striving to enter into life, plainly implies great zeal in seeking the way which leads to it. In all the concerns in this mortal life, when we are heartily engaged in any pursuit, or endeavor to accomplish any end, we are very careful lest we should take some wrong step to our injury or loss. And we ought to act from the same principle, in the infinitely higher concerns of religion and salvation.

'If it be asked, whether an unconverted sinner can be supposed to strive in the manner required, and above described?—I answer, yes; at least, in general. If it be further inquired, whether a sinner can be, or is thus disposed to strive, antecedent to any influence of the divine spirit upon his heart?—the answer is, by no means. For God strives with sinners by his spirit, his word, and providence; so that when any are brought to love him, it is because he first loved them. My meaning is, that there may be, and always are, such awakenings and strivings, prior to that thorough change of affections, which the scriptures express by a new heart, and being born of God. It may also be added, to prevent misconstruction, that though no sinner strives but with whom God first strives, yet it will not follow that God strives with none but those who strive earnestly themselves, in consequence thereof. For God is said to strive with many who do not submit and obey, but who resist and grieve his holy spirit.

'Some persons, and indeed not a few, suppose there is no connexion between any strivings and efforts of sinners, and their obtaining eternal life. The question is not, whether sinners can be saved, without becoming true believers or sincere Christians. There is no controversy here. For all allow, that without holiness no one shall see the Lord. Nor is it a question, whether a sinful creature can attain to true holiness, and so obtain eternal life, merely by his own endeavors, without the divine influence and aid; for all Christians acknowledge the necessity of the guidance and influence of the holy spirit, in order to true and lasting holiness. Nor is it now a question whether God is in justice bound to sanctify and renew the heart of a sinner; or whether we can obtain life without the direction and influence of God's spirit. We do not here assert that he is. But the inquiry is, if there be any connexion between the endeavors of sinful creatures to obtain eternal life, and their success herein, whether this is not owing to the grace of God, and can be known only by the revelation and promises of his word? And it is readily answered, that this is of grace, and can be assured to us only by the revelation and promises of God. The question then may be thus stated: Whether unregenerate sinners, under the gospel, have a day of grace and salvation afforded them, in such a sense that they will obtain eternal life, provided they heartily desire, and truly strive to that end?'

He then proceeds to show, by arguments drawn from scripture, that there is a connexion between sinners striving to obtain the salvation revealed in the gospel, and their actually obtaining it.—'Some persons, and indeed not a few, have supposed that there is no certain connexion between the seeking and endeavors of sinful men, and their obtaining eternal life; while others contend that our success is certain if we seek and strive as we ought, and may do.'—After some explanations, as to the real question or the nature of the inquiry, he says—

'Upon laying these several things together, you will observe that the inquiry, in fact, comes to this: Whether there are, in the word of God, any promises or invitations to sinners, who hear the gospel, whence it may be justly inferred that if they strive, in the manner they ought and may do, to attain forgiveness and salvation, God will certainly afford them all the influences of his spirit and grace, which are necessary to that end? This is a fair statement of the important question. Or it may be stated in other words, thus: Whether unregenerate men, under the gospel, have any day of grace and salvation offered them, in such a sense that they may obtain eternal life, if they heartily desire it, and duly strive to that end? And that there is such a connexion between seeking or striving, and obtaining salvation, I think is evident, as well from scripture as from reason, and from our natural conceptions of the divine character, and of what he does and will require of his moral creatures. And I do not lay stress, nor put the decision of this point merely on some detached passages of scripture; but on the joint force and concurring evidence and result of all.'

He then proceeds to state what is the general tenor and plain import of the calls, and exhortations, and promises, of the inspired prophets and messengers of God, to mankind, as they naturally are, whether of ignorance, sin, worldliness, or sensual pleasure and pursuits; and to show that God, in his great mercy, was, by the voice of reason and providence, and by the holy scriptures, continually warning, directing, inviting and urging men to be virtuous and holy—to cease from sin, and to become sober, just, devout, benevolent, and righteous. This is shown with great force and felicity, and, to a fair, unprejudiced mind, it would seem most satisfactorily, by copious quotations from the sacred volume.

'But we are told,' he says, 'that the scriptures speak of some sinners as wholly left or forsaken of God in this world; as given up to their own hearts' lust, to incurable blindness, to strong delusion, &c., that they may be damned. But even supposing there are *some* such, and that these passages are to be strictly construed, it is evident that the persons thus left of God, were previously in a salvable state; and that they had the restraints and strivings of God's spirit; that they had been in a capacity, and had an opportunity, of obtaining salvation, if they had duly desired and sought for it; and that their not doing so, was the reason of their being thus forsaken.'

Many passages of scripture are then quoted, to prove that such was the fact; or that those given up to sin and delusion, had been previously long instructed, invited, exhorted, and borne with, that they might know and embrace the truth, and be saved; but all which had no effect upon them.

'It is supposed that those who have had the gospel preached, and do not comply with the offers of salvation, but oppose or disregard this heavenly light, will have an aggravated punishment. And this is the scripture representation in the case. But what reason or justice would there be in this, if these sinful and unhappy men were never really put in a capacity for receiving this salvation; or never had it *made possible* to them, though they desired and endeavored to become partakers of it? Are men, even if sinful and careless, to be *mocked* with the offers of salvation, on terms impracticable to them, though they desire to comply with them; and afterwards to receive a condemnation, peculiarly aggravated, on account of their non-compliance? 'Far be it from God that he should do wickedly or unjustly; and from the Almighty that he should pervert judgment.' And *are not his ways equal?* Is it not declared that *he is no respecter of persons?* It were not only void of all goodness, but so cruel and tyrannical, that it would be blasphemous to attribute such conduct to the blessed God; who is not only infinitely removed from all unrighteousness, but is good to all, and his tender mercy over all his works.'

The sermons of Dr. Mayhew, particularly addressed to young men, were preached to his society, in the ordinary course of his duty as a minister, on the Lord's-day, and published by request of upwards of fifty of them. Dr. Eliot has observed that they were not remarkable for talent or argument; and expresses some surprise that they were published. But they are calculated to do good; and if they add nothing to the fame of the author, as a man of learning, or a powerful reasoner, they show his desire of making religious impressions on the youth of his society; and the same consideration may have led him to publish them for the benefit of others.

In the preface he says—'I had no other sermons in view as a model. They are written entirely from the scriptures and from my *own heart;* of the latter of which, they are a true though imperfect representation. Least of all had I in view, as a model, the sermons of any *bigoted devotees* to a particular system of theology, distinct from the general and glorious one of the gospel; or such cold, uninteresting discourses as suit the *frivolous* taste of those who value sermons only for an imaginary *delicacy of sentiment or expression;* without solidity, without force or energy; and without entering into the spirit and importance of religion. I do not think mine the worse for not being imitations of either of these. The former are my aversion, as the illiberal productions of *slaves*, who wish to *tyrannize* over other men's consciences. The latter are my contempt, as the superficial, insipid, empty harrangues of vain and conceited men; which do not deserve the name of sermons.

'It is said, by some, that the present times are very degenerate and corrupt, in comparison with those of our ancestors; and particularly that the youth of these days are remarkably light and vain, loose and profligate, both in principles and manners. No doubt there is always room and great occasion, in this present sinful world, for reformation. Yet I am not certain that the above charge is strictly true. Perhaps they who make it, do not inquire wisely concerning former times, or the present, when they think that those were better than these. Be that as it may, I believe the surest way to produce a reformation is not to rail at the present times. I have, therefore, wholly declined this kind of rhetoric and declamation, in these discourses. I have addressed you in them, and endeavored to treat you as *reasonable* beings. You will not, I hope, think it less incumbent on you *to show yourselves men*, by your conduct, though *young*, than it was in me to treat you as such. To the many arguments and motives for that purpose, used in these discourses, let me here subjoin, that a number of you have been blest with a liberal and learned, as well as religious education; and that more is expected of you, both by God and man, on that account.'

He also presses the importance of early religion, from various considerations, addressed to the understanding and conscience, which it would be unnecessary to state minutely, but which refer to personal happiness, respect, and esteem in society, especially of all good men; to true and lasting prosperity in the world; to the comfort of friends; the satisfactions of old age, and the everlasting favor of God. Quotations might be made from them, which would be pertinent and encouraging to the young. And if a new edition of the volume were published, it would be far more useful than much of the superficial trash with which the press now groans, under the pretence of something *new*. A few extracts follow, to show, practically, his manner of improving his subject, near the close of the last sermon.

'At all times avoid, as far as possible, entering into religious dispute with a hot enthusiast, or with those persons whose brains are half turned with systematic divinity; and whose angry passions are apparently engaged in defending the jargon, either of ancient symbols, or of more modern confessions of faith—all of human invention, and some of them anti-scriptural. Would you think either to convince such men, 'foaming out their own shame,' or even to allay their intemperate heat, clamor, and railing, by *reasoning* with them—by sober argument? At least, first try your talent at reasoning some other way. For example; try it first on a whirlwind; then on the cataracts of Niagara; and then on the fiery eruption of Vesuvius and Etna. If the experiment succeeds; if you can suspend the fury and rage of these, by the force of your reasoning, you will then have some encouragement to make trial of it upon such men as the foaming enthusiast and the flaming bigot. Otherwise, it is best for you to leave them to God, and to keep yourselves sober.

'Avoid all ostentation in religion. Do nothing from a spirit of vain-glory, and especially nothing which has relation to religion; but do every thing in lowliness of mind. Neither affect to appear righteous unto men; but endeavor to do your duty in all respects, as in the sight of God, who trieth your hearts. Every thing which is showy, affected, and ostentatious, in religion, or done with a design to make people think the doer is very conscientious and eminently pious, is highly disgusting to persons of true wisdom and sobriety; and, which is far more, highly offensive to God, who delighteth in them who are of a humble and contrite spirit.*

'On the other hand, beware of false shame and modesty; too common a defect, and none of the least. Some persons are ashamed of their duty, and for this reason—lest fools and the irreligious should deride them for doing it. To be ashamed of what is right and fit to be done, and thus to omit it, is highly improper, as it is offending God, out of regard or fear of man.

'Rest not satisfied with the mere profession of religion, nor in any superficial reformation of manners. Rest in nothing short of faith in the gospel of Christ; a faith which works by love, and indicates the new birth and new creature spoken of in scripture. Every thing short of this will leave you destitute of christian sobriety; and therefore in a state of sin, guilt, and death. Besides, unfeigned faith in the holy Jesus, as the teacher and Savior of sinners, purity of heart, and a supreme regard to God, are requisite, that you may have real delight in his service, and enjoy the comforts of religion in the present world. Religion will be rather a burden and an uneasy restraint on you, than your happiness and delight, if you have no more of it than the form. She does not bestow her comforts, her divine joys, but on those who sincerely love her, embrace her with the whole heart, and yield themselves unreservedly to her heavenly influence and power.

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* Such also were the views of the puritan fathers, when they saw the numerous and trifling ceremonies of the churches of Rome and of England; and yet, in some instances, they laid too much stress on rites and forms, and on merely speculative doctrines.

'Keep a particular watch and guard upon your own iniquity; upon the sin which most easily besets you; upon your constitutional and most cherished sin. Most have early, or, by education, a favorite passion. In some, it is anger; in others, it is envy; in others, avarice; in others, pride and vanity; in others, intemperance. But whatever is your predominant passion, you should keep a particular eye and guard upon it. Until you have, in some good measure, got the mastery of it, you are not to suppose you are real Christians. This is your trial, and the test of your sincerity towards God.'

He then exhorts to sobriety, and purity and righteousness, from the christian doctrine of a future retribution, and the spiritual nature of future happiness, and adds—'Let me conclude, by expressing the sentiments and desires of my heart, respecting both you and myself, in prayer to Him, who heareth prayer.'*

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* It is believed the insertion of this prayer will not be thought improper, as it seems to show both the character of Dr. Mayhew's mind, and his ardent desire for the moral and religious welfare of his people.—It is said, that Dr. Mayhew often began his prayer, after sermon, thus :—'O Thou, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, didst speak unto the fathers by the prophets, we thank thee, that in these latter days thou hast spoken unto *us*, by thy Son.'

'O Thou, of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things; the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named: O, graciously behold these young men before thee; from the womb ignorant of, and therefore estranged from, thee; but yet thy offspring, formed by thy hand, animated by thy breath, and enlightened with a ray from the fountain of light in thee; born under the common law of mortality, through the offence of one, and naturally subject to the bondage of corruption; born to die in a few days, and yet to live forever; encompassed always with thy presence, upheld by thy power, and living only in and by thee.

'Great Creator and Father of all! who despisest not the work of thine own hands; thou who didst fashion them so wonderfully in the womb, and take them from it to behold the light! even thou hast also nourished them and brought them up as children, since they first hung upon their mothers' breasts. Thou hast delivered them from many evils, and shielded them from unnumbered dangers, through the feeble states of infancy and childhood. Thou, on whom all eyes wait, who hearest the young ravens when they cry, and before whom not a sparrow is forgotten: thou hast supplied their natural wants from thy stores and treasures, with a bountiful, a paternal hand; and madest provision for their deliverance from sin and death, and for their eternal happiness, even before thou gavest them their being. In the fulness of time, according to thy gracious promise of old, thou didst send forth thy Son, made and born of a woman; who, by thy grace, hath tasted death for every man, to redeem them that were under the law; and that we sinners of the gentiles might also receive the adoption of sons. We thank thee, that from children they have had an opportunity to know the holy scriptures, which testify of thy Son, and which are able to make them wise unto salvation, through faith which is in him.

'O righteous Father! they have indeed erred from thy ways; they have sinned, they have rebelled against thee. O give them now repentance, to the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness. May they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, to the obtaining life eternal. Wherein they have erred from thy righteous paths, forgive, O most merciful Father, forgive them through the blood of the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world. Remember not against them the sins of their youth; for childhood and youth are vanity. Father, forgive them; for they knew not what they did! Thou considerest their frame, thou rememberest that they are dust; and art not strict to mark iniquity. Thou hast said, by the mouth of thine holy apostles, that thou wilt have all men to be saved; and art not willing that any should perish, but that all should come unto repentance; that they may receive the remission of sins, through him that died for all, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God; and who is able to save them unto the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.

'O Holy Father! may these young men be sanctified through thy truth; thy word is truth. Cleanse them thoroughly from their sins, from all unrighteousness, from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, in the pure, the hallowed fountain which thou hast opened. May they be holy, and without blame before thee in love, being followers of thee, as dear children, the remainder of their days on earth; that they may be heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ, whom thou hast appointed Heir of all things.

'O thou who wast, and art, and art to come; the same from everlasting to everlasting! behold thou hast made their days as an hand-breadth, and their age is as nothing before thee. Cause them, therefore, whose life is as a vapor, as a flower, as a post that hasteth by—O cause them to know their end, and the measure of their days what it is; that considering how frail they are, they may remember thee in the days of their youth; that they may even now apply their hearts unto wisdom, and, for the time to come, be sober-minded, according to thy word.

'Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning! eternal source of truth and love! thy unworthy servant hath declared thy love and thy truth unto them, that they might know and love thee. He hath sown, not perishing or corruptible, but the incorruptible seed; even thy word, O Lord, which liveth and abideth forever. Though sown in weakness, may it be raised in power! Thou alone givest the increase, whosoever soweth, or planteth, or watereth. O cause this good seed, though so unskilfully sown, to take deep and effectual root in all their hearts, however hard any of them may be, through the deceitfulness of sin; that it may spring up speedily, and grow, first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear, a goodly and plenteous harvest of the fruit of righteousness, to the glory of thy great name, by Jesus Christ; to their own peace, honor and happiness here, and to their eternal felicity in thy kingdom which is above.

'Perfect the good work already begun in any of them, unto the day of Christ; keep them from falling, that they may in due time appear in thy glorious presence with exceeding joy. And grant, O heavenly, most holy, and most gracious father! grant that thy unworthy servant, having preached to others, may not himself be a castaway! May he, with them, though so unworthy of thy favorable regards, yet through thy unutterable love and grace in Christ Jesus, be found at last at his right hand, whom thou hast made the Lord and judge of all. With them, and with thy unworthy, though not wholly unfaithful servant, it is a very small thing that they should be judged of man's judgment, or have their names cast out as evil. He that judgeth them and all, whose judgment is at once true, impartial, and decisive, is the Lord.

'In that great day, therefore, O my God! when the stars of heaven shall fall to the earth, even as a fig-tree shaketh her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind; when the heavens shall depart as a scroll when it is rolled together, and every mountain and island shall be moved out of their places; when the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man; when all who have killed, persecuted, or maliciously condemned the just; when all who have rejected and disobeyed thy sacred word, or knowingly perverted it, through the love or fear of this present world, shall hide themselves in the dens and rocks of the mountains; and say to the mountains and rocks, fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: in that great day, O my God! may thy most unworthy servant, may these young men, may all that are here assembled in thy house of prayer, of whatever age, sex, or degree, having believed and obeyed thy truth in simplicity, the truth as it is in Jesus, have great peace and boldness; may even the least of them have then no occasion to hide themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains; or to say to the mountains and rocks, fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb! O grant that in that day, the least, as well as greatest of us, may lift up our heads with joy; knowing that he who loved us, and whom, not having before seen, we loved, together with our complete redemption, is come: and may, with the general assembly, the church of the first-born, and the innumerable company of angels, with loud, joyful and triumphant voices, ascribe blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, unto him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb, forever and ever. For worthy, O greatest and best of Beings! worthy is the Lamb that was slain, and hath redeemed us unto God by his blood, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. Amen!'*

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* Here is a specimen of the serious manner, and the deep religious feelings, of Dr. Mayhew; of his desire to do good; of his conformity to inspired scripture; and of his building his faith on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, making Jesus Christ the chief corner stone.

CHAPTER VI.

Dispute with governor Bernard, and letter to him—Project for a new college, and remonstrance against it—Dr. Mayhew's letter and donation to Thomas Hubbard, treasurer of Harvard college—Letters of Dr. Lardner, Mr. Hollis, &c.

It will be recollected, by those who know the character of governor Bernard, that he was haughty and overbearing in his manners, of arbitrary principles in civil government, and hasty and passionate in his temper. He was also a bigoted episcopalian. The independence and frankness of Dr. Mayhew, must have been particularly disagreeable to him. Even as early as 1761 and 1762, Dr. Mayhew was known to be an ardent whig, and to be intimate with James Otis, Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, and others. With previous strong prejudices against Dr. Mayhew, it is not very surprising that the governor was guilty of great indecorum and harshness towards him, on the occasion now to be mentioned.

An Indian, of Martha's Vineyard, came to Boston, to present a petition, from some of his tribe on that island, to the governor and council, for protection against certain individuals, who had taken away their wood. From the governor, he went to Dr. Mayhew, where he had a young son then living as a servant. The Indian informed Dr. Mayhew, that he had given the petition to the governor, and also two dollars in money—which he supposed was customary, in such cases—and that the governor put it in his pocket. Dr. Mayhew was much surprised at the relation; but he had long known the Indian, and believed him entitled to full credit. He asked the Indian, however, if he was not mistaken in giving the two dollars to the governor; and if probably he had not given it to some other person. But the Indian was positive that it was to the governor, and he was sure he saw him put it in his pocket. About a week after, Dr. Mayhew related the Indian's story to two of his most intimate friends and parishioners; and one of these imprudently related it, so that it reached the governor's ears. He was highly irritated, and sent for Dr. Mayhew to wait on him forthwith. He gives a long and particular statement of the remarks and deportment of governor Bernard, on the occasion; which were extremely discourteous, threatening, rude and insolent. He said, 'it was a lie—a gross lie; and Dr. Mayhew must have known it was a lie, when he heard it and related it; and was therefore just as culpable as if he had made the story.' He said, he 'considered it a *libel*, and should prosecute Dr. Mayhew for a defamatory libel.' It would be tedious to state all the rudeness, threats, and harsh speeches of the governor. The lieutenant-governor and the secretary were present, but were prudent enough to keep silent. The governor said he should send for the Doctor at a future day; and would consult learned council in the mean time.

After a week or ten days from this singular interview, hearing nothing from governor Bernard, and feeling himself to have been most unjustly and rudely treated, Dr. Mayhew addressed the following letter to his Excellency. It bears date, December 18, 1761.

'Sir,—It gives me concern that I have incurred your Excellency's displeasure in so high a degree, as is sufficiently evident I have done, by the manner in which you lately expressed yourself to me, in the hearing of his honor the lieutenant-governor, and Mr. secretary Oliver: when, among other things tending to prove it, you were pleased to say, that you had never spoken with so much warmth and severity, since you came into the province, as you then did to me. To which, as in duty bound, I give the most entire credit. And yet, when I consider the number of profligate men in the province, some of whom must have fallen under both your knowledge and censure, it is not a little surprising that not one of them has excited your Excellency's indignation so much, or has been thought worthy of so severe a reproof, as myself. And this, for a few words dropped by me, not of a criminal nature in themselves, as I humbly conceive; and I am sure, not spoken with any criminal intention. This, sir, is very mysterious to my unpenetrating genius. And I am sorry to find, by what the lieutenant-governor said to me two days ago, and Mr. treasurer Gray, yesterday, that your anger, if at all subsided, is not wholly appeased; as I hoped, (not to say expected,) it would have been after several days' reflection, if not sooner.

'But since I am still so unhappy as to lie under your Excellency's displeasure, as having committed a high offence, and refused to make such satisfaction for it as you judge reasonable; I beg leave to assure you, that this proceeds not from any contumacy, or obstinacy of temper in me, but from principle. I mean, from the conceptions which I have of what is right and equitable in the case; which conceptions, whether just or unjust, are, in reality, such as will not permit me to make that sort of acknowledgment which I understand you expect; and which, if I know what it is, would be, in effect, acknowledging myself a liar, slanderer, and defamer: characters which, God knows, I scorn and abhor, and can hardly believe the most inveterate enemy I have calmly thinks I deserve. My moral character, especially as a minister of the gospel, is very dear, and of great importance to me; which you will be so good, sir, as to consider.

'And I beg your permission and patience, while I a little more distinctly lay open the views and conceptions which I have of this unhappy affair, at once with all the plainness which becomes a man of sincerity, and all the regard which is due to your Excellency's person and high station. This I choose to do in writing, for several reasons, and particularly because, though I am sensible that writing is what I have a poor talent for, yet even that is, of the two, perhaps, rather better than my talent at speaking—in which latter I often find it difficult for me to express my meaning even on common occasions, on things familiar to me, and when I am not under restraint by the presence of any one, in all respects so much my superior as your Excellency.*

'I beg leave to remind you, sir, in the first place, that when I mentioned the affair of the Indian petitioner and the two dollars, the ground of your displeasure, I affirmed nothing more or less concerning you. Not your Excellency, but the Indian, was the subject of my proposition, or assertion. I said, indeed, that the Indian had declared to me so and so; leaving those to whom I spake to judge of the credibility or incredibility of the thing; supposing them to be as competent judges of Indian evidence as myself. But that you received two dollars of the Indian, with the petition, I asserted not, and defy any person to prove I did; though I find that this falsehood has, either by mistake or wilfully, been lately reported in town.

'Your Excellency will allow me also to observe, that the two persons present, to whom I related the story of the Indian, were my very particular and intimate friends—one of them a member of his majesty's council, the other a deacon of my church, and a man of unexceptionable character. From these circumstances, there arises, as I humbly conceive, a natural and strong presumption, that I did not speak of this affair with a design that it should be made public, or spread abroad to your Excellency's disadvantage: which I solemnly declare was not my intention; and I believe that the person who next related it, had no such design.

'But, not to insist further on these things, however material, I humbly conceive that, although I had said what I did in the most public manner, yet it would not have been defamatory in the eye of the law; the words being, in themselves, of such a nature, that the law would not have taken hold on me for them, in any just and natural construction. This, sir, is not merely my own opinion; which, I am very sensible, would deserve little or no regard in the present case; but that of two gentlemen of the law, of known ability and reputation in their profession;† the only two whose counsel I have asked. This I did, in consequence of your Excellency telling me you should take legal advice thereon yourself, and that you were resolved to obtain satisfaction of me—by which I presume I must understand *legal* satisfaction; unless I had put a very unwarrantable construction on your words, and such a sense as I am certain was far from your thoughts. Upon such a menace as this, divers times repeated, I thought I could, in justice to your Excellency, and to myself, considered as a British subject, whose rights are inviolable, do no less than consult such as were learned in the laws; and which I did with a determination, if I found I had broken any one of them, to ask your Excellency's pardon, in the most explicit manner; and to do every thing else which could, in reason and honor, be desired, to make satisfaction for my offence: for I reverence the laws. And this I declare myself still ready to do, on the conviction that I have really violated any law, or used any liberty of speech, unbecoming a good Christian, or a British subject. Even had I adopted the Indian's story, when I told it, (as I did not,) yet, unless I had asserted or intimated that you had received the two dollars as a *bribe*, or in some illegal or criminal way, I believe my words would not have been defamatory and libellous, in the sense of the law. But nothing of that nature was subjoined by me; though I did, for the sake of information, ask whether there was a legal or customary fee to the governor, in such case: and to which I was answered, no—but that the secretary had a right to a fee, for a petition presented to the council; and that, on supposition two dollars were paid, they were probably designed for the secretary.

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* Ably and readily as Dr. Mayhew wrote, he often appeared at a loss for words, and hesitated much in conversation.

† One of these probably was James Otis, his personal and political friend.

'I am not ignorant, sir, of an ancient law of this province, which is now before me, subjecting to a fine, and to prosecution for damages, any person who shall wittingly and willingly make or publish any lie, or libel, tending to the defamation or damage of another person; or make or spread any false news or reports, with intent to abuse and deceive others—a law, to which I suppose your Excellency alluded several times, when I had lately the honor to see you, and the unhappiness to hear from you some very severe and harsh expressions, addressed to me. I then understood you as threatening me with the terrors of this law. But I have so much regard for your Excellency, not to say for myself, that I do not suppose you really think me chargeable with so foul, so atrocious a thing, as 'making a lie.' I scorn, I detest the thought. I despise any such imputation, from *whomsoever* it may come. And, as to wittingly and willingly publishing a lie, tending to the defamation or damage of another—this comes so near to the other crime, that I have, in effect, the same sentiments, the same abhorrence of it; and defy any person to prove either of these execrable crimes upon me. I might say the same of making or spreading any false news or reports, with intent to abuse and deceive others. So that, with respect to myself, sir, this law, so formidable to *some others*, is absolutely devoid of all terrors. And I humbly conceive I have as little reason, in the present case, to fear any other law: my own innocence, and even the laws themselves, being my protection, wherever law and justice are to be had.

'These, sir, being my conceptions as to this matter, after having taken great pains to get information, with a mind open to conviction, I doubt not but even your Excellency will acknowledge that I cannot, consistently with honor and conscience, confess any crime that I have not been guilty of, or ask your pardon, which would imply the same thing. In my humble opinion, sir, no person deserves to enjoy the rights of a British subject, who has not the spirit to defend them to the last: of which rights, freedom of speech and writing, within the limits of law and decency, is not the least valuable or important, in its consequences. And I hope I might indeed say, I am confident you have no desire to obtain and establish such a universal influence over the tongues or pens of his majesty's loyal subjects, as is not warranted by law; such an one as is not consistent with the genius of the British government; in short, such an one as *true Britons* neither will nor ought to be under, so long as they enjoy both tongues and pens, and their liberties.

'I beg, however, that you would not entertain so hard a thought of me as to suppose, that I 'use liberty for a cloak of maliciousness;' against which I have often cautioned others. I have the more reason to request this piece of justice of you, sir, because when I lately had the honor of being with you, you let drop some grating expressions to this purpose—that you supposed what I had said of the Indian affair, was said in some *club*, whose employment was defamation and scandal; and that I did my part therein, in my turn, as a thing of course. I then, for certain reasons, contented myself with a bare denial of this reproachful, this ignominious charge. I now take the liberty to add, that I neither belong to, nor frequent any club, whatever. And your Excellency may be pleased further to know, that those persons, whom I make my friends and companions, are of such an irreproachable character, that it would be no disgrace, even to your Excellency, to be sometimes, or often, seen in such *honest* company.

'But as ill an opinion as you have of me and my friends, it seems, sir, by what you were pleased to say at the same time, that you have no better of the town in general. For I am much mistaken if you did not then represent this diabolical spirit of slander and defamation, as common among the people of this town and province; of which you had been fully convinced by what you had observed during your administration of the government. I appeal to the two honable gentlemen who were present.

'Another angry expression which dropped from you, and which I had great reason to take amiss, as being highly opprobrious, was, that I '*adored* the *Oliverian* times;' of which I also then contented myself by a bare denial. But I now beg leave to add, that I am as far from adoring those times of confusion and religious madness, as your Excellency is from adoring the times of the Jameses and Charleses, when arbitrary power was carried to such enormous lengths, that hardly any wise and honest man could, with freedom and safety, speak his thoughts. And, surely, your Excellency is far from adoring such wretched and despotic times as those. For myself, I adore HIM alone, who was before all times, even from everlasting to everlasting; who always does right, and can never do wrong. But, if I adored any times, they would be those of the glorious revolution, when the nation was almost miraculously rescued from tyranny, and its liberties, by the bill of rights, &c., were established upon the present basis; which I pray God may be immutable; and in which respect, I flatter myself that I have the honor of being of the same mind with your Excellency.

'I ought before to have taken notice of what the treasurer told me yesterday, as a proposal from your Excellency, to refer what you thought so criminal in my conduct, to a number of his majesty's council. Upon which, I beg leave to observe, that I have no clear idea of what it is which you would refer to those honorable gentlemen. For I cannot suppose it to be, whether I ought to make you any pecuniary satisfaction for what I said of the Indian and his petition. It would be dishonorable to you, sir, who, the other day, professed so great a disregard for money, to imagine that you can possibly desire any part of the very little which I possess, as a satisfaction for the supposed injury done to a good name, which 'is rather to be chosen than *great riches*.' And as for referring it to their judgment, whether I ought to ask your pardon, promising to abide thereby—this is what I can by no means consent to, though I have a high opinion of their wisdom. For if *that* should be their opinion, yet, if their reasons for it should, unhappily, give no light and no conviction to my mind, I could not be sincere in confessing a fault, or asking forgiveness for it. And what I cannot do *sincerely*, in this case, I conceive had better not be done at all—nor will it be done by me: though I still profess both my readiness and my resolution to do these things, in the most explicit and cordial manner, whenever I shall actually be convinced, that, in what I said of the Indian, I defamed your Excellency, or broke any law of God or man; of the former of which, at least, I ought to know *something* myself.

'As I intimated before, it is not through pride, or obstinacy of temper, but from principle, that I decline giving you that satisfaction which you seem to desire. And I beg leave again to declare, that I esteem it an unhappiness, in some respects, to be the object of your displeasure; and will do any thing, which I think I can do in reason and honor, in order to satisfy you. Neither can I suppose you have forgotten that I offered, before the lieutenant-governor and the secretary, to make it as public as you pleased, 'that I do *now* believe the Indian told me a lie; that I should be very sorry to be, even innocently, the occasion of any real injury being done to your character, and would do any thing in my power to prevent it.'

'I hope I have used no expressions, in this long letter, unbecoming a Christian, a gentleman, and a person in my station. If I have, I declare it to have been without design; and beg you would be so good as to overlook it. For, whatever may be your Excellency's opinion of me, and with whatever neglect, contempt, or severity, you may judge it proper to treat me, it will always be my endeavor, as it is my duty, and therefore to my honor, to treat your Excellency with good manners, as well as to pay all due reverence to the laws of my country.

'That your Excellency may ever be directed to a wise and proper exercise of power, in your high station—such as shall be truly honorable to yourself, and be beneficial to this loyal province; that you may never be a terror to any besides evil-doers; that all wise and good men may rather love and honor, than fear you; that, if you should ever have any enemies, no persons of *that* character may be found among them: and, in fine, that you may both enjoy and give great satisfaction in your government, is the sincere wish and prayer of

'Your Excellency's most obedient,
'And dutiful servant.

'P. S. No one has either read or heard this letter, or any part of it. Neither will it ever be communicated to any one by me. But your Excellency has a right to make whatever use of it you may judge proper.'

It is not probable the governor took any measures to publish it—not even to his political friends. A blotted and interlined copy was found among the papers of Dr. Mayhew; as well as his account of the interview with the governor, before mentioned.

Reference was made, in the preceding chapter, (p. 196,) to a remonstrance, which was drawn up by Dr. Mayhew, who was one of the committee of the board of overseers of Harvard college, against the project for another college within the province, to be on or near Connecticut river, and which was favored by governor Bernard, who had even privately granted a charter for such a seminary, when it was known that most of the legislature were opposed to it. This act was considered as exceeding his lawful authority; and it was believed he was induced to grant a charter for such a college, or collegiate school, from a desire to have a rival literary institution in the province, to Harvard, which was wholly under the direction of congregationalists. The remonstrance merits notice in this place; and a reference to the principal statements and arguments it contains, cannot fail to be interesting, even at this time, to those desirous of knowing the views of literary men in the province seventy-five years ago.

'We beg leave to observe, that Harvard college was founded by our forefathers, with a laudable view to the general interests of learning and religion in this country; and that this is properly the college of the government; it having been established and always patronized and supported by the legislature. So early as 1642, the general court manifested their great concern for its prosperity, and for accomplishing the important end of this institution, by constituting the governor for the time being, and all the magistrates (or counsellors) of this jurisdiction, with the elders (or congregational ministers) of Boston, and five other next adjoining towns, and the president of the college, to be the overseers and guardians of it. This shows the sense they had of its importance; and that they considered the common and public good as closely connected with the growth and prosperity of this seminary of learning. And the charter of the college, granted in 1650, refers to the said overseers, as being legally intrusted with the care and superintendence thereof; which charter was, to all intents and purposes, confirmed by the royal charter of William and Mary, granted to the province, in 1691.

'The said overseers have, accordingly, from first to last, superintended the affairs of the college; having taken care, while a general liberty was allowed for Christians of different denominations to send their children thither, and the rights of conscience were duly preserved, that the rules, laws and orders of the society should be such as tended to promote substantial learning and good religious principles and morals, in conformity to the generous, pious and extensive views of the government in its establishment, viz., 'the education of the youth of this country in knowledge and godliness,' as expressed in the college charter, before referred to. And the said overseers have, from time to time, interested themselves in all the important concerns of the college; using their endeavors that the true designs of this institution might be answered, and guarding against whatever had an apparent tendency to counteract and defeat them.

'In conformity to which laudable example, as well as to the nature of the trust reposed in us by the government, we think ourselves obliged, by all lawful and honorable means, to promote the interest of said college, and to prevent, as far as in us lies, any thing which would certainly, or probably, be detrimental to it. And we are humbly of opinion, that, in the capacity of overseers, we not only may with the utmost propriety, but are in duty bound, as far as decency will allow, to appear in opposition to any proposal, which either directly interferes with the good of the college in Cambridge, or which, in our apprehension, would be prejudicial to the 'general interests of literature and religion in this country.' Neither do we know how to separate the real and proper interests of the college from what the government originally declared, and is known to be the important end of its establishment. Your Excellency will permit us farther to say, that we were not a little alarmed for the college under our care, when we first heard of a proposal for founding a college in the county of Hampshire, and of a petition preferred to the government for a charter to that end. And it touched us with a very sensible sorrow to understand afterwards, when the petition would not pass the general court, that your Excellency had gratified the petitioners, by preparing a charter, in his majesty's name, for the purpose aforesaid.

'Waiving the question of the validity of a charter thus granted and issued, as being beside our proper business in this capacity, we take the liberty to declare it as our opinion, that the founding of another college in this province would not only be quite unnecessary, but really prejudicial to Harvard college and to the common interests of learning and religion in the country. And we are further of opinion, with all proper deference to your Excellency, that there is no real difference between a college and a collegiate school; and that such an institution in the county of Hampshire would be to all intents founding not only a real college, but a rival to that at Cambridge; one whose interests would interfere very essentially with those of the latter; and consequently, instead of being any way subservient or useful, would be highly detrimental to it.

'We are also humbly of opinion, that the charter, which your Excellency had prepared, in order to establish a college in Hampshire, was, in fact, adapted to answer the aforesaid designs and views of those who requested it. For it constitutes them a body politic, with many privileges; and is, in some respects, a more full and ample charter than that of Harvard college; particularly as it allows them to hold lands or other real estate, the annual income of which may be double to that of the lands which the other corporation is permitted to hold. There is nothing in this charter which discovers the intention of it to be the founding of a college in any respect inferior to the other; much less preparatory and subservient to it. It is indeed intimated in this charter itself, that one reason for establishing a college in Hampshire county, is that the people in those parts might not be subjected to the necessity, and to the supposed inconvenience and greater expense, of sending their children so far as Cambridge for an education; in which respects it exactly corresponds to the known views of those in whose favor said charter was prepared, as to having a real and every way sufficient college of their own, to serve that part of the country, as Harvard college has served the whole.

'One college, if well regulated and endowed, we believe, is abundantly sufficient for this province, considering its extent; and would be much more serviceable than two or more, whose interests interfere; as we think it evident, beyond all doubt, that the interests of Harvard college, and of such an one as is proposed, would do. It has indeed been said that the collegiate schools in England are rather subservient and useful, than prejudicial to the universities there, or to the common interests of learning. But the circumstances of this province and of the mother country are different, (the latter being very rich, compared to this country;) and Queen's college does not appear, by the charter, to be inferior or preparatory to Harvard college. Nor is the latter yet arrived to such maturity, strength, and perfection, as to be out of danger of receiving great prejudice from such a competitor, or rival, as the other might prove. We do not mean in point of real excellence in literature, of which we have no reason to be apprehensive, but in other respects. Particularly as our college, yet in its infant state, is hitherto but meanly endowed and poor; the unhappy consequences of which are too obvious. And we think that founding another college, would be the most probable and effectual way to prevent its being hereafter endowed in such a manner, as all who desire its prosperity doubtless wish to see it. For if such a college as is proposed were founded in Hampshire, it cannot be thought that persons living in that part of the country, who might be favorers of it, in respect of its vicinity, would be willing to bear a part in endowing that at Cambridge, whether in a legislative or private capacity.

'Moreover, if another college were founded, as is proposed, yet it cannot be reasonably thought that, in many years to come, the means of education therein would be so good as they are already in Harvard college; and no doubt they will be long far inferior. And yet, from motives of nearness or novelty, of convenience, or supposed cheapness, or some other, we think it not unlikely that, after a few years, a great proportion of the youth of the province might actually be sent thither, instead of being sent to Cambridge, to be educated; which would not only be a direct, great, and manifest prejudice to Harvard college, but consequently a real injury to 'the general interests of literature and religion in the country.' For although more of our youth might thus receive what is usually called a liberal education, and which might pass for a good one with many, yet we apprehend that this would be a disadvantage, as it would prevent a sufficient, though smaller number of our youth being sent to Cambridge, where they would unquestionably be much more thoroughly instructed and far better qualified for doing service to their country. And the natural consequence hereof would be, not only filling many important civil offices, but a great part of our pulpits, with comparatively ignorant persons, at once to the detriment of the commonwealth and of the churches here established.

'Permit us to add, that we apprehend founding a college in Hampshire would be a bad and dangerous precedent: as several other counties might, at least with as much appearance of reason, demand the like privilege of setting up colleges for themselves. But of what pernicious consequence it would be to go on thus multiplying colleges, without having any one well endowed, so fully as to answer all the ends of a college, we need not to observe to your Excellency. And yet how it could be well avoided, after such a precedent in the case of Hampshire, it is not easy for us to conceive. Now the sum of what we have offered is, that if a new college should be founded, agreeably to the charter prepared, we should then have two colleges in this government, the extent of which does not certainly require more than one; and the establishing of another would therefore be prejudicial, not only to the prosperity, interests, and growth of that already established, but to 'the general interests of learning in the country.' For by means of their separate interests, and a division of strength, wealth, and affections of the people, naturally consequent thereon, neither of them would be suitably encouraged nor endowed; whereas one would probably be so, if all were happily united in the support and encouragement of it. And this one, in our opinion, would far better answer all the valuable ends of a college, than two rival seminaries, mutually cramped and kept poor by an opposition of interests.

'We must entreat your Excellency's patience a little longer. You have too much goodness and candor to impute it to us as a criminal partiality, if we highly honor the memory of our forefathers, the first European settlers of this country. And on no one account, their unfeigned piety excepted, is their memory more respectable, more venerable to us, than on account of their known great regard for learning; their love and strong attachment to which prompted them so early, and while they were struggling with unnumbered difficulties, to create an establishment for it, even in a wilderness. This they did at a great expense for them, considering their circumstances and abilities, however small it may seem in any other view; herein probably consulting the welfare of their posterity and future ages, rather than their own immediate benefit. They did it with the pleasing hopes that the seminary of learning, of which they then laid the foundation, would at length, by the prudent care and the ingenuous liberality of successive generations, one day arrive to the dignity and extensive usefulness of an UNIVERSITY, and become a distinguished ornament of the new world, in some measure as the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were of the old.

'We devoutly adore the good providence of God, which hath from the beginning presided over this seminary, and raised up worthy benefactors to it from time to time, as well in Europe as America: so that it hath, from its first institution, furnished these churches with able and faithful ministers, and the commonwealth with worthy members, by whom the important offices in the government have been sustained with ability, fidelity and reputation. It is not disaffection to your Excellency, but a sense of duty to God, to the college, to the government which committed this important trust to us; to the commonwealth, to the present and to future generations—this it is, sir, which prompts us in making this remonstrance. And permit us to subjoin, that we never can, without the deepest regret, and the greatest sorrow, see an institution take place, by means of which we are fully persuaded the pious and expensive cares of our forefathers, and their generous, public-spirited designs will be frustrated; by means of which we shall be split into parties and factions of interfering interests, and such as will be particularly prejudicial to the advancement of learning; by means of which the endowment of professorships in the various branches will be obstructed, and the so much needed enlargement of the buildings of the college probably prevented; by means of which the college must decline and languish, instead of flourishing, as we might otherwise expect; by means of which, academical degrees, those needful aids of learning, will be of comparatively little worth or utility; in a word, by means of which, we conceive, a most fatal blow will be given to the interests of learning in this country; and all this at a time when the spirit of learning seemed to be reviving among us, and to appear more than it has in some former years; and at a time when, from the increase of our numbers and wealth, there was ground to hope that our college would soon emerge from its comparatively low and infant state, and acquire all the endowments, privileges and dignities of a UNIVERSITY.'

This remonstrance shows, at once, the ability and the correct views, as well as an ardent desire for the prosperity of Harvard college, of the distinguished writer.* And on various other occasions he interested himself in the welfare and usefulness of that venerable institution. It was chiefly owing to his influence, that the second Mr. Hollis, with whom he so long corresponded, was induced to make frequent donations of books, &c., to Harvard college—as the first of that name had done thirty years before. And here a letter of Dr. Mayhew, though written in 1765, to Hon. Thomas Hubbard, then treasurer of the college, may be presented; in which he offers a donation, for the encouragement of the students: and though comparatively small, it was, according to the declaration of Christ, not a mean offering. For he was not opulent, nor was his salary very large.

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* It will be observed, that Dr. Mayhew made the governor's authority, in such a case, a question; or by implication denied it. And it was the almost unanimous opinion in the province, that he had no such legal or constitutional power. The governor replied to the remonstrance—but it was considered as no *answer* to the arguments in the remonstrance. And this plan for another college, and the royal negative given to the act for incorporating a society of congregationalists, (though episcopalians were not excluded from being members,) to spread the gospel in new settlements, and among the Indians, by the influence of the high-church party in England, served to increase the fears of the people here, that the congregationalists were to be depressed, and episcopalians to have the ascendency in the colonies. This was the language of archbishop Secker, only a few years before this period:—'There may be good and important reasons to submit to subscriptions, and to conform to the rites and forms decreed by the officers of the church, *even if we do not approve*; and doctrines not necessary, may be useful, and therefore justly enjoined for belief.' In 1765, an eminent churchman in England said, that 'things had come to that pass, that the state was more in need of the support of the clergy and the church, than they of the support of the state.'—'Terminus,' says Blackburn, 'would have fixed his *pedestal*, had not such men as Clarke and Hoadly'—and we may add, as Mayhew and Chauncy—'thrown it down, or weakened its foundation; and as it had kept its station for two centuries, it might have kept the church in ignorance and error till the last trumpet shall sound, but for the honesty and ability of such men.'

'TO THE HONORABLE THOMAS HUBBARD, ESQ.

'Sir,—Together with this, I deliver to you, as treasurer of Harvard college, eight pounds, which I give in trust to the corporation of said college, for the encouragement of useful learning therein. And it being the opinion of some judicious persons, that it would answer valuable purposes to have a fund established, the interest whereof, when considerable enough, to be distributed annually, either in money, or honorary medals, to such under-graduates as, upon proper trial, are found to excel in oratory, (I mean just pronunciation and action,) and in the knowledge of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, respectively—I propose the said eight pounds, though but a small sum, as the beginning of a fund for the before-mentioned purposes; hoping that some other persons, who may approve this design, and whose abilities are greater, will contribute thereto from time to time, so as in a good measure to answer the ends proposed; and also taking it for granted, that, if such a fund should be established, it will be managed by the corporation, as the other funds of the college are, with the consent and sanction of the overseers.

'But if, during the space of three years from the date hereof, no considerable addition should be made to the aforesaid sum, as a fund for the purposes specified; so that in the judgment of the corporation, after the expiration of said term, there is little or no prospect that this proposal will succeed; then it is my desire, that the corporation would dispose of the said eight pounds in four equal premiums, as follows, viz.:

'One as a prize for the freshmen's class, to be given to him that shall exhibit the best specimen, in writing, of his proficiency in the Latin tongue.

'The second, for the sophomore's class, to be obtained by him that shall give the like written specimen of his superior proficiency in the Greek.

'The third, in like manner, for the junior sophister's class, to him that excels in the knowledge of the Hebrew.

'The fourth and last, for the senior class, to be given to him who, on some notified day of his class's declaiming, shall deliver a declamation in praise of *civil liberty*, in the most proper manner, or with the best regulated voice and gesture.

'The merits of the several performances to be determined by the president, professors and tutors, or the major part of them. 'I am, honored sir,

'Yours, &c.

'J. Mayhew.

'Boston, June 6, 1765.'

It is not known how this donation was appropriated. There is no particular reference to it in the late accounts of the treasurers of the university.

As the donation was small, and no additions made by other persons for the same object, the amount was probably applied to some other literary purpose. But however appropriated, the gift shows the good wishes of Dr. Mayhew, for the prosperity of the college, and his desire to assist, as he was able, in promoting the interests of sound learning.

The following letter from Jasper Mauduit, agent of the province in England, dated July, 1762, is evidence of the interest which Dr. Mayhew took, and the influence which he had, in public affairs. For it will be perceived that it is an answer to a previous letter from him to the agent.

'Your letter, of the 26th April, is now before me. I should much regret being obliged to decline so honorable an employment, if my refusal should occasion any prejudice to an interest, which, at all times, I wish to see prosper. But the business of an agent is of too great concern for me, in my present feeble state of health, to undertake alone. I have, therefore, written to Mr. Oliver* and Mr. Otis, to desire that my brother Israel may be joined with me in the agency, whose abilities fully qualify him for it, and whose early education for the ministry, among the dissenters, has made him a friend to religious liberty. It is only in this way, that I can think of complying with your desire of remaining to act as agent of Massachusetts. In consequence of the long decline of my good friend, Dr. Avery,† I find an increase of the care of our (dissenting) affairs constantly devolving upon me. I thank God that one great concern is happily terminated. Our long depending cause with the city of London, is decided in our favor ; and corporations will no longer be allowed to hold the *test-act* over us, as a double-thonged scourge. One at least of its lashes is now cut off. If our religious enemies will have us deemed unworthy of all honorable and lucrative employment, they will not be able hereafter to force the burdensome ones upon us, as a punishment.'

To prepare the reader for an account of the memorable controversy which Dr. Mayhew had with episcopalians, in 1763 and 1764, it may not be improper to introduce here some letters, referring to that subject, though written after the publication of a part of the controversy. But most of the letters which speak of that dispute, will be given after a statement shall be presented in the next chapter. The following letter is from Israel Mauduit, brother of Jasper, who had been several years agent for the province in England. It bears date, April, 1763.

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* At this period, 1762, the council and house acted together, and had but one agent in England. A few years later, each had its agent, as they did not agree in political opinions. Mr. Oliver was then secretary, and Mr. Otis the leader in the house.

† Benjamin Avery, LL. D., mentioned in the early part of this Memoir—a dissenter and a scholar.

'I cannot read over any discourses, abounding with such just and liberal sentiments, as those you have sent me,* without returning you my sincere thanks. I pray God to succeed and bless your labors in his church; and heartily wish that my brother's endeavors had proved more effectual in support of your excellent design for promoting Christianity among the Indians.† But from the beginning there was a strong prejudice existing against this new society. The word had been given, that it was designed to act in opposition to the (episcopal) society here for propagating the gospel; and nothing could stand against the charge. I found even the most moderate of the bishops. (whom I have long known, and before they were bishops,) had been made to believe that it might interfere with the designs of the church here. I hope, however, that you, and the other gentlemen of the society will not be discouraged, but keep it up in a private way. I could greatly wish that the society would go on, at least so far as to make an experiment, whether there is not some better way of bringing over the Indians to the christian religion, than our (old) society's commissioners in Boston have hitherto pursued; so that our society may profit by your example, and direct our commissioners to follow it.'

Another letter, from Israel Mauduit, dated July, 1763, follows.

'I am much obliged to you for the valuable present of your 'Observations,' which has given me great pleasure in the reading. Mr. Apthorp's seems a very extraordinary piece; and it has let out a discovery, which was before unknown to most among us, and would be denied by many. I shall keep it as an authentic means of the conviction of both. If the two performances be considered as specimens of the learning of the two different colleges, from which the writers came, I think our Oxford missionary does not seem much fitted to reform you, either in grammar, logic, or divinity. And from the tendency of his pamphlet, I believe he is likely to get as little thanks from his superiors here, as probably he has gained credit among you. I shall take care that some of them see both your and Mr. Apthorp's pamphlets, and am in no fear that yours will suffer by a comparison.'

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* Probably those 'on the extent of the divine goodness,' published in 1762, and which gave great offence to bigoted calvinists.

† This refers, no doubt, to the society formed in Boston, in 1762, for promoting christian knowledge, &c., but which was not sanctioned by the king.

'Your book,' he says, in another letter of August, 1763, 'has done much good; and it is but justice to the archbishop of Canterbury, to observe, that, at the last monthly meeting of the society, he referred to it and its contents with approbation. He did not, indeed, expressly praise your book; but he admitted most of the facts stated, and in substance adopted your views. He condemned all interference with the dissenting churches in America, and acknowledged that he had reason to fear that their missionaries had not acted always in accordance with the wishes of the society. It may be said, however, to be the speech of a politician and a courtier.'

Under date of February, 1764, Mr. Mauduit writes—

'I send you a pamphlet, published here, in answer to your 'Observations.' It is supposed to be written by the archbishop. There is great judgment, (I do not say *truth*,) in his supposing your book to be written against the established church of England; and thus engaging his readers in his favor, in the outset. Through the whole he has taken the most *artful* advantage of every slip of your pen, to support his cause, wearing the face of great moderation and candor. On the whole, however, you have no reason to be displeased: for, as to the main point, he acknowledges there has been given just cause of blame, in the conduct of the society; and you have obtained, what few writers of controversy experience, the promise of redress in the evil complained of. This is all a wise and good man will propose; and therefore the controversy has now answered its end.'

Some other letters, from distinguished men in England, giving a very favorable account of the 'Observations' of Dr.

Mayhew, in reply to Mr. Apthorp, the episcopalian missionary then at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, respecting the conduct of the episcopal society in England for spreading the gospel, compared to its charter, and the incorrect statements of its friends in this country, might be referred to here ; but it is though to be most proper to postpone them till the 'Observations' and their contents have been particularly noticed.

In 1762, Dr. Mayhew published two sermons, delivered to his society, on the day of public thanksgiving, in November, 'on the extent of the divine goodness ; ' in which he dwells on the benevolence and paternal character of God, in a strain very different from the calvinistic representations and doctrines of his day. The sentiments expressed in these discourses, are such as accord with those of the present day, who love to dwell on the *propitious* character of the Deity, as revealed and set forth in the gospel, in opposition to the *partial* goodness and the *vindictive* nature of the Supreme Being, as taught and inculcated by the disciples of the Genevan school. Indeed, these discourses gave great offence, or uneasiness, to rigid calvinists ; and Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, of Ipswich, some time after, in 1763, published strictures on them. But a more direct and particular notice of these sermons, of Mr. Cleaveland's strictures, and of Dr. Mayhew's vindication of the sentiments contained in the sermons, will be taken, after referring to the controversy with episcopalians, respecting the conduct of the society in England for propagating the gospel in the colonies.

We have before given extracts of letters from Judge William Allen, of Philadelphia, a gentleman of literary taste, and of liberal views in religion. Extracts are here presented, from some other of his letters, in 1763, which it is believed will be interesting to the reader.

'I have long had an epistolary intercourse with that very worthy divine, Dr. Chandler. As there is a great similarity in your opinions and literary performances with his, I make no doubt your name and character are well known to him.*

'I have lately read two volumes of sermons of Mr. Bourn, who, I think, is a dissenting minister at Norwich. He appears to me to be a reasonable, consistent writer, and seems to come as near my system of religion, which is that of the New-Testament, as any of the divines I have met with. I suppose he is accounted no small heretic by your high calvinists; who, in my judgment, prefer obscurity, mystery and darkness, rather than light.

'We, I mean the presbyterians, are the most numerous sect or denomination in this province, of any society in it; and among the Germans, the 'reformed' are rather the greatest number. The quakers, or friends, who were the first settlers chiefly, are esteemed more wealthy, but are not equal in numbers to the presbyterians; and this is true also of New-Jersey.

'I have had the satisfaction of reading the first discourses you were so good as to send me, and the two which you hint were preached on account of Mr. Cuming's *reveries*—for I can call nothing which comes from him by a better name—nor ought I, if he continues to be the same man he was with us.† He offered himself a candidate to the congregation of which I am a member. Though the greater part are moderate calvinists, they could not relish his doctrines. The common cry among our people was—'We think faith and good works ought to go hand in hand; but this man tells us the latter are *dangerous*.' He was considered an antinomian here; and, to the honor of our congregation be it said, after hearing sundry of his sermons, he was almost unanimously rejected: and it seemed odd to our people, to learn he had been received in your town, as an assistant to one of your ministers. He may be a pious, well-disposed man; but I believe he is a gloomy, dark enthusiast, and a great perverter of the plain religion of Jesus Christ, as taught in the gospel. *

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* Dr. Samuel Chandler, a dissenting minister in England, and an able writer in defence of the divine origin of Christianity, against some deistical attacks in his time.—Mr. Bourn's discourses were deemed very judicious and valuable.

† Probably the two sermons 'on the divine goodness,' published in 1762. Mr. Cuming was settled a colleague with Dr. Sewall, in 1761, and died within two years after. He was an imitator of Whitefield, in manner and sentiments, and undertook to defend and propagate similar extravagant notions.

'I have heretofore so fully expressed my sentiments and hearty approbation of your writings, that it might appear superfluous to add any thing on that score. But this much I must say—the two last discourses (on the divine goodness,) still serve to rivet me in the same opinion. If they are not what some folks call Christianity, I am satisfied they contain the genuine doctrines of the New-Testament, and which alone deserve that name.

'You do me great honor, by proposing to address some of your future publications to me. They might, indeed, be the means of preserving my name, which must, of course, otherwise soon be forgotten, with most of the great family of mankind; but as my cast of mind is not an ambitious one, I would choose to go off the stage in the same quiet and humble way that I have lived. I, however, count it a great felicity to have the esteem of good men; among whom, from your religious performances, and the character you bear, I cannot scruple to rank you as one. I shall conclude you have forgiven my past carelessness, if you will favor me with your correspondence in England. I hope God will give you health and strength; and that he may enable you to continue to advocate the *truths* of our holy religion, is the sincere and hearty prayer of,

'Reverend and dear sir,
'Your affectionate friend,
'WILLIAM ALLEN.'

'P. S. As I hear the price of bread-corn is high with you, I have taken the freedom to send nine barrels of flour, which I beg you would be so good as to accept.'

A liberal correspondent, indeed! This was a more substantial and acceptable compliment, no doubt, than verbal professions of gratitude and esteem.

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* It must seem strange, that such an extravagant fanatic was ordained over any society in Boston, even the most orthodox. Dr. Sewall and his colleague, a few years before, united with the other ministers of Boston, in disapproving the conduct of Davenport, a very similar character to Cuming.

CHAPTER VII.

Society of episcopalians in England, for propagating the gospel in foreign parts—Dr. Stiles's letter—Mr. Apthorp's 'Considerations'—Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' in reply, on the conduct of the Society.

As early as 1650, a society was formed in England, for propagating the gospel in New-England and parts adjacent, among the native Indians, through the influence, in a great measure, of Edward Winslow, sometime governor of Plymouth colony. But before this time, and soon after the first settlement of Massachusetts, various efforts were made to civilize and christianize the aborigines. The labors of Mayhew, Eliot, Cotton, Bourne, and others, for this purpose, will be recollected. While Sir Robert Boyle was at the head of that society, large sums were expended for the purpose, and not without success for some years; though comparatively few of the Indians were converted to the christian faith, or persuaded to adopt the manners and arts of civilized life.

In 1704, the bishops and other clergymen of the episcopal church, formed a society in England, under the royal patronage, for spreading the gospel in foreign parts. And as their missionaries were mostly located in New-England, where there were learned ministers of the gospel then settled, it was believed one great object was to extend the influence of the church of England through the provinces, and to make converts to that communion from the congregational societies. The conduct of the missionaries, and the declarations of many of the bishops in England, confirmed these suspicions. It was pretended that the people in all the colonies were little better than heathen; and it was even denied that the congregational clergy were ordained, or had authority to administer the christian ordinances; and that therefore the members of their churches were not Christians.* It was openly asserted, that none were orthodox, but such as had received episcopal ordination; that all their acts, as ministers, were thus invalid; and that, unless there was a worship according to the *liturgy* of the English church, and confirmation by a bishop, all was vain and nugatory, as to making true disciples of Christ.

This strange conduct, and these narrow and exclusive sentiments and views,—precisely similar to those of the Romish church towards all protestants and reformers, for more than a century previous,—alarmed the descendants of the puritans, in New-England, whose fathers had sacrificed and suffered so much, from the English church, in their support of what they believed the primitive system, in the first propagation of the gospel in the world, as to the equality of ministers, and the simplicity of worship. And many, in every successive generation, firmly opposed these plans of the episcopacy, and ably asserted the liberty of the churches, as implied and enjoyed by the early Christians. In 1722, this alarm was increased, when the rector and a tutor in Yale college, and four of the trustees, who were ordained congregational ministers, declared their preference for the church of England, and several of them went to that country, and received episcopal ordination. A few years after this event, great efforts were made by the episcopal society in England, for extending their influence in this country, by building churches and supporting missionaries, and that not in places where the people were destitute of a preached gospel, but in Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the means of christian knowledge and christian ordinances were enjoyed. And thus the friends of the independence and liberty of the New-England churches, were very anxious lest episcopacy should become predominant, and the old system of intolerance and persecution be introduced here, which had been adopted in England a century before, and by which our ancestors had so grievously suffered. Rev. Noah Hobart, of Connecticut, early detected these schemes and efforts;* for in that colony the greatest influence was first exerted to introduce the peculiar forms of episcopal worship. And some others were honest and bold enough to unite in opposition to these plans for *christianizing* and *episcopizing* the descendants of the puritans. But Dr. Mayhew was the most distinguished writer on the subject, and the most powerful advocate for religious liberty, and in showing the assumptions, the unjust claims, the improper conduct, and the dangerous views of the English hierarchy, backed as it was by most of the courtiers, for the purpose of maintaining an arbitrary government in America. For most of the hierarchy, or the high-church party, and the high-tory party in England, had always agreed in their plans for having the entire control over the colonies, in church and state. The plan of another college at Northampton, from dislike of Harvard, and the negative to an act to form a society here to propagate the gospel, the year before, were just cause of alarm.

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* Even to this day, such is the exclusive, not to say arrogant, opinion of episcopalians; though in the common intercourse of society, there is much courtesy and good fellowship existing. A congregational clergyman considers the episcopalian as a christian minister, and may consistently invite him into his pulpit. But not so with the episcopal clergy. The congregational minister admits and treats the presbyterian, baptist, and methodist clergymen, as such. But the clergy of the church of England consider and allow none of these to be gospel ministers. Rev. Dr. Parker, of Boston, said to Dr. West, of Dartmouth, 'you consider me a regular clergyman; but I do not so consider you. You can invite me to preach for you; but I cannot invite you.' This spirit, or opinion still prevails, and has such authority with episcopalians, as to make them, externally and professedly at least, exclusive and intolerant.

In some of his former writings, Dr. Mayhew had referred to the conduct of the episcopal society in England for supporting the gospel in the colonies; and expressed a hope that they would send missionaries to the Indians, and to *new* settlements, where the people were destitute of the means of religion. But the immediate occasion of his engaging more fully in the subject, and of showing the deviation of the society from its original and legitimate plan, was a pamphlet, written by Rev. Mr. Apthorp, an episcopal missionary, supported by that society, in Cambridge, under the pretence of preaching the gospel to those who did not enjoy it.

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* Sir William Ashurst observed, in a letter to Dr. Cotton Mather, in 1714—'I hope the new society of episcopalians, for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, which you mention in your letter, will make a proper improvement of their great advantages and means. But I am afraid God will not bless their endeavors; they having neither right ends in view, nor do they employ proper agents in the work. To propagate the christian religion, in its native purity and simplicity, is a heavenly work; but to make it only a color to aggrandize the hierarchy, and to promote the interest and glory of what some call THE CHURCH, can neither be a good work, nor can we justly expect a blessing upon it.' And more than one bishop, who preached the annual sermon before the episcopal society in England, said, that 'their missionaries must teach and propagate Christianity,' (not according to the New-Testament, but) 'according to the liturgy and the forms of the church of England.'

There was an episcopal church opened at Braintree, at an early day after the episcopal society was founded in England to send their missionaries into the colonies; though there was an able minister of the gospel then settled there, and only three or four families there could be pretended even as being episcopalians. On the death of a Mr. Miller, the missionary in that town, in 1763, some person, unknown, referring to his death, in a newspaper, mentioned the above facts, and expressed some surprise that a missionary should be supported by the society in Braintree, instead of employing him among the Indians, or others destitute of the preaching of the gospel. Mr. Apthorp noticed this paragraph in the paper, and spoke with a good deal of feeling, as if those who were opposed to these missionaries being located in the old towns, were bigots, and complained unjustly; and he 'undertook to defend the society of episcopalians in England, in their conduct and policy; and, *once for all*, to show they had a right to do as they had thus done, and to silence all objectors.'

There was very little of argument in Mr. Apthorp's pamphlet, which was entitled 'Considerations,' &c., and his facts stated were few, and not much to his purpose. It was rather declamatory in style, and censorious and dogmatical in its tone. He contended that 'the bishops might do what they would with their own;' and more than intimated that the dissenters *here*, as well as in England, were barely tolerated. He wrote with an air of superiority, and seemed to imagine that no one was able, or would dare to reply to him. The challenge being thus given, it seemed necessary for some one to accept it, on the part of the congregationalists in this country; and probably no one was better qualified for the task than Dr. Mayhew. Many others were able to defend ordination by presbyters—to show the errors and additions to the primitive, apostolic worship, by the church of England, as well as by the church of Rome. But it was not only important to show from scripture that the congregational form was proper; that much of episcopacy was of human invention; and to state facts to prove that the episcopal society in England had departed from its original plan, and become a mere sect or party in its efforts to spread the gospel: it was also necessary to produce an effect; to treat the subject as Dr. Mayhew did, and as no one else was so well qualified to treat it—with great power, with great tact, and in such a manner as to convince and *shame* those who had been agents in this exclusive, not to say unchristian, work. In his hands, the task was very ably and effectually performed. Not only was Mr. Apthorp silenced, but even the head of the English church himself, who entered the lists to support his humble brother. The churches of New-England owe to Dr. Mayhew, for this great service, a debt of gratitude, which they can never overpay. And as civil and religious liberty depend on each other, and were, at that period, closely connected, and ecclesiastical and political principles were combined, in operation, to deprive us of the social blessings secured to us by our heroic ancestors, this eminent clergyman and patriot, who so ably pleaded the cause of freedom, deserves the highest commendation which can be justly bestowed on any human efforts.

It was said, by the episcopalians, that Dr. Mayhew sought for an occasion to attack them; and that it was a fondness for controversy, rather than a regard for christian truth, that he revived the dispute between them and dissenters. But it is believed he was particularly requested and urged to write on the subject, by some of his friends, who had the same views as to the impropriety of having episcopal missionaries in the old towns in New-England, and who considered him well qualified to answer Mr. Apthorp, and to give a just and full statement of the conduct of the society in Great Britain, which employed them. He says himself, he had been requested to do this, and that he undertook it with reluctance. The following letter from Rev. Dr. Stiles, then of Newport, and afterwards president of Yale college, will show that Dr. Mayhew did hesitate before he engaged in this dispute. The letter will also show the views and feelings which some other eminent men had on the subject, at that period. It is dated April, 1763.

'As it seems expedient, in this infancy of things, to prevent its being alleged hereafter that Mr. Apthorp's pamphlet, on the institution and conduct of the society, &c., was not animadverted upon in the day of it; so it gave us, your friends here, peculiar pleasure, when an answer, preparing by you, sir, was advertised. But it gives us much regret to be told, as we are, by some episcopal gentlemen, lately in this place, from Boston, that you have been prevailed upon to drop the affair,* in a method which opens the avenue to the suppression of all free and open impartial disquisition; the connexions,† as to you, (as is suggested,) having taken a primary touch and influence from some episcopalians, of the first distinction and power in your province. We had disbelieved these suggestions, but that, at the same time, the advertisement dropt from the public prints. If you have determined not to publish your answer, I shall be extremely sorry. However, let me ask the favor, that you would inform me the reason, of weight and influence with you, which has persuaded you to desist; and whether, in your opinion, that reason ought to deter all further attempts in answer,‡ or discourage a public and open opposition to the system which Mr. Apthorp so openly avows: a system full of as uncharitable and dishonorable implications as an attempt on the churches of Scotland, Holland, or France, by proselyting them to episcopacy, to set up *for them* a PUBLIC RELIGION. If such an attempt was made upon them, as upon us, by a systematical measure,§ supported by the body of British bishops, &c., have we any reason to think the protestant ministers would interpret the rules of christian charity, moderation, and forbearance, into tameness, submission, silence; and that, alleging the primitive, apostolic institution, a rational, scriptural opposition and defence must not be commenced, for the sake of peace?

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* What efforts were made to induce Dr. Mayhew not to publish his 'Observations,' are not known to the writer.

† Rather obscure—but the language is truly given.

‡ Dr. Stiles probably intended to write on the subject.

§ It appears that Dr. Stiles, as well as many others, at that period, believed there was a formal, though somewhat secret plan, to establish episcopacy in New-England.

'Shall we be hushed into silence, by those whose tender mercies are cruelty; and who, notwithstanding their pretence of moderation, wish the subversion of our churches, and are combined, in united, steady and vigorous effort, by all the arts of subtlety and intrigue, for our ruin? So far as episcopal influence can be exerted, the assignment of all civil and military lucrative offices and honorable employments in the provinces, are and will be more and more improved to subserve the proselyting to the mother church. And while they are using carnal, may not we use spiritual weapons of defence? If they can play off upon us our artillery of charity, benevolence and peace, so successfully as to seal our lips, while they are open and bold in asserting their own cause, our churches are truly in great danger. Though if we should never touch the controversy, and they go on conquering and proselyting, with all their policy and artifice unopposed, suppose that, by the distribution of offices and lucrative connexions, and *contentions among ourselves*,* they could form two or three churches a year in New-England, yet I doubt not we shall be greatly superior to them in a century.

'The dissenters in England have been practised upon in like manner, with every artifice. During the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, they sustained great oppressions. In twenty years from the revolution, they were alternately carressed and threatened. The court measures, under the house of Hanover, have addressed them with every species of corruption, which Walpole or Newcastle could invent. Their ministers and gentlemen of the laity have been advanced to bishopricks and nobility; great offices conferred, connected with the almost never-failing condition of becoming of the established church. And the body has sustained the impression, with the loss of a few Maddoxes, Bolingbrokes, Herrings, &c., and now and then a genteel debauchee, and deist; but with no great diminution, on the whole, in a period of nearly two hundred years. And I believe we shall sustain the attack as successfully; though I expect the exigences of our churches, for this and the next generation, will require as vigilant and spirited a defence, as the first hundred years of the reformation. I am sensible that in this, I differ from many.*

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* Dr. Stiles would not have expressed such fears without reason. The contentions were about creeds and points of faith.

'The society, *propaganda fide*, is as sedulous in proselyting the eastern churches to the pontificate; and, according to Hanway, and Pococke, have made considerable progress both among the Greeks and Armenians. But the missionaries meet a vigorous opposition from both the Greek and Armenian patriarchs, and other ecclesiastics in the east. And it is remarkable that the principal argument used by the Romish missionaries to recruit the eastern christians to the pontificate, is the same used by the episcopal missionaries in these colonies. And the arts of proselyting also are the same. The scripture institution is equally out of the question with both.

'May God prosper our churches. May no just defences of their evangelical purity be suppressed, by threats or caresses. You, sir, are set for the defence of the gospel, as well as all other christian pastors. Our eyes are much turned on Dr. Chauncy,†—who has appeared and written excellently, and merits the public thanks of the churches—and on you, sir, who have shown yourself a bold and open advocate for truth and pure religion and free inquiry.‡ If means be found, through friends or enemies, to seal and shut the mouths of those who have gained great boldness and confidence in the faith, may the great Head of the church excite the intrepidity of others. If I should seem to address you, sir, with an impertinent familiarity and a too free remonstrance, pray forgive it. It proceeds from an earnest, perhaps you will think too warm a solicitude for the church's christian liberty and welfare. No one takes greater pleasure in your fame and growing influence, or more sincerely wishes you evangelical blessings and success, than, sir,

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* These contentions were about speculative points in theology; some contending for calvinism very strictly, and others, like Mayhew and Stiles, being more liberally disposed, and desirous of discarding both the calvinistic and athanasian creed.

† Dr. Chauncy had then written largely and ably on the validity of presbyterian ordination.

‡ This is an indication that Dr. Stiles was not much alarmed by what others called the heretical opinions of Dr. Mayhew.

'Your affectionate friend,
'And obedient, humble servant,
'Ezra Stiles.

'P. S. You were once pleased to say, that you would not be even religiously scolded. nor pitied, nor wept and lamented, out of any principles or doctrines, which you had received on the authority of scripture.'

It was said of Zuinglius,—'nor could all the compliments and enchantments, with offers of preferment, from the pontifical chair, bribe him into silence.' Dr. Mayhew was not the man to be swerved from his purpose, which a sense of religion and truth inspired, by any promises of fear or honor or threats of temporal privations and losses.

When Dr. Mayhew published his 'Observations' on the conduct of the society, there was a general apprehension through the colonies, and particularly in Massachusetts, of a design in the parent state, both among ecclesiastics and politicians, to govern this country in an arbitrary manner, and to take away, or to disregard, the liberties and privileges which had been granted by the charter. As already noticed, there had often been a proposition by the prelates in England, for supporting bishops in the colonies, and for placing episcopal missionaries even in old towns, where there were only a very few who requested it. And such a measure was believed pregnant with mischief, as it would lead to an interference with the general ecclesiastical forms and government here, and a gradual encroachment on true christian liberty. At this period, there were strong indications of a purpose in the British ministry, to exercise more power over the colonies, which alarmed every sincere patriot. And such was the connexion between the church and the state in Great Britain, that the claims of the former were almost as much dreaded as those of the latter. As a patriot and a christian minister, Dr. Mayhew, as well as others, had reason for alarm, and considered it his duty to warn his countrymen of their danger, and to point out the insidious arts of both churchmen and statesmen to undermine the liberties of America. And it was the opinion of many intelligent citizens of New-England, that his publications at that period had a salutary effect, in arousing the attention of his countrymen to the 'signs of the times.' He was indeed charged, by his opponents, with vanity and severity, and even with improper harshness; and it cannot be denied that there was some appearance of truth in the charge. He was certainly severe in his remarks on the English hierarchy, in representing them as worldly, ambitious and arbitrary characters. But he adduced facts to support his statements, and was careful to show the disagreement of the episcopal government and pompous ceremonies of the English church, with those of the christian church, for two hundred years after the time of our Lord.

The opinions and declarations contained in Mr. Apthorp's pamphlet, served rather to alarm than to convince or quiet the people; especially those who had observed the conduct and proceedings of the episcopalian society in England. For he contended for the propriety of supporting episcopal missionaries, even in old towns and settlements, and where there were only four or five families which preferred the forms of the English church. And few of these were so bigoted but they usually went to congregational churches.

Mr. Apthorp referred to the act for incorporating the society, and asserted that its legitimate design was to furnish preachers of the gospel to the British subjects in the colonies, who were destitute of the public worship of God; and that this was done at the sole discretion of the society. And he also contended, that those missionaries might justly be sent to old and populous towns, if there were any who wished to worship according to the forms of the established

English church ; which was in effect justifying the society in placing their missionaries, as they had done. And at that time, they supported episcopal ministers in Cambridge, Salem, Marblehead, Scituate, Newbury, Dedham, Braintree, Portsmouth, and several in Connecticut ; but the people who attended were very few, and in most cases left their former places of worship, from selfish or some other unworthy motives.

Mr. Apthorp referred to Dr. Secker, formerly the bishop of Oxford, and then archbishop of Canterbury, in support of his construction of the charter of the society, and in justification of its conduct in locating the episcopal ministers as they did. He says that ‘ the public service of God, will thus be carried on with much more *decency*, and that the people will thus be led to worship in the *beauty* of *holiness*. And hence the importance of supporting ministers of the *true* religion, were it only for a standing guard against the inconveniences of *false* religion. There can be no teaching at all, but in some particular form ; and we think ours the best. Our predecessors had every reason to *begin* with inspecting the state of the English plantations in America.* And a common benefit of propagating Christianity in our colonies, is that we shall hinder corruptions of it from prevailing there.† ’

Mr. Apthorp also asserted, that the episcopal missionaries had rendered great service to the cause of morals and good manners. He said, ‘ the gloomy and austere deportment of the people in New-England, where episcopal clergyman were settled, had disappeared.’ In some things, the people of that day were precise and strict ; but this the descendants of the puritans think preferable to the known laxity of many episcopalians. But this charge could not be made against Dr. Mayhew, who was a cheerful, liberal man, and opposed to the gloomy doctrines of former times; though his strict morality and sincere piety were never called in question.

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* They had no reason to *begin*, nor to interfere at all with ecclesiastical concerns in the New-England colonies ; for those colonies were settled solely for the sake of religious liberty, or rather, liberty of conscience, and of submitting to Christ, and not to popes or bishops. For this, they had the solemn promise of the king ; and any claim or attempt to impose religious creeds, forms or rule over them, by bishops, parliament, or the crown, was manifest usurpation and tyranny.

† It should be remembered, that plans had already been formed for extending episcopacy in America.

Dr. Mayhew immediately entered the field thus opened to him and other congregationalists in this country, and soon published 'Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' in order to show their inconsistency; with 'Remarks on the Mistakes of Mr. Apthorp,' &c. He thought the characters of our ancestors, the order and welfare of the churches in New-England, and the general cause of religious freedom, required an answer to Mr. Apthorp; and he believed it perfectly justifiable, and indeed, a duty, to expose the conduct of the society, tending as it evidently did to undermine and depreciate the congregational ministers and churches, and to spread episcopacy and episcopal modes of worship in America. 'And the true question,' he says, 'was, whether the planting of episcopal churches, and supporting missions, in New-England, in the manner done by the society, (when the state of this part of the country, as to means of religion, was known) were conformable to the true design of its incorporation, or a deviation from it, and therefore a misapplication of its funds?'

The preamble to the act is then quoted, to show the real design of the incorporation of the society; which was, 'for sending and maintaining ministers of the gospel to those places in the British plantations and factories, which were *wholly destitute and unprovided with means for the maintenance of ministers and for the public worship of God;* and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our subjects want the administration of God's word and ordinances, and are abandoned to infidelity: and for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and jesuits are encouraged to pervert and draw over our subjects to popish superstition and idolatry.' *

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* And yet the Roman Catholics have usually received far more favor from the English hierarchy, than dissenters have. Archbishop Secker said, the

From this, Dr. Mayhew was naturally led to conclude that only places destitute of other and any protestant teachers of religion, were designed to have missionaries placed in them by the society; and proceeds, at great length, to support and illustrate the position he had advanced, that the support of missionaries in old settled towns, where there were other able and pious ministers, was a perversion or misapplication of the funds of the society; and he was thus led to give much of the history of the exclusiveness, usurpations, and arbitrary conduct of the English hierarchy, with the aid of the civil power of Great Britain, for a long period, in times past. But his principal object was to show, that the society had neglected to support the public worship of God, and teachers of Christianity, in such destitute places as it was intended, by the act of incorporation, to provide for; and had supported missionaries where they were not needed, and where the people had able and pious ministers. And this, he said, was a double abuse. Most impartial men admitted that his positions were fully defended and proved. Indeed, many of the more liberal clergymen of the episcopal church, acknowledged that he fully made out his case; and that the society had not conducted according to its charter, nor in the spirit of christian charity, or true protestantism.

In his observations, Dr. Mayhew refers to the following singular paragraph in a sermon of an English bishop, before the society, which he thinks might apply to their own conduct:—'The popish missions are not conducted with apostolic simplicity. They often go among a people already Christian; and, under the pretence of converting infidels, their chief business seems to be to apply themselves with all their arts to pervert Christians from their faith, and to draw them

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Romish priests were very active in making proselytes, but no one opposed or noticed it. Some one has said of the jesuits—'Their name from Jesus, but their arts from hell.' And when they were banished from Portugal, Voltaire said—

'Le Diable, ce mauvais Genie,
Qui ne scait faire que du mal,
A tres' bien fait en Portugal,' &c.

All similar associations, if *spell-bound* by secret oaths, are dangerous in society; and their obligations may justly be deemed *incompatible* with the duties we owe the state, and with the equal rights of our fellow men.

over to a subjection to the pope; the want of which subjection they pretend to think the greatest error, and which they zealously endeavor to eradicate; while infidels are very sparingly, if ever, applied to by them.'—To show that there was no need of supporting missionaries in the towns in New-England, Dr. Mayhew refers to the early and continued care of the inhabitants to provide for the support of religious worship and ordinances; and states the fact, so honorable to the memory of our fathers, that wherever there were towns settled, there learned and pious pastors were ordained and supported; and that none of the old and populous towns were destitute of able and orthodox preachers of the gospel. He also quotes Dr. Bray, sent out to America at an early period by the society, for the opinion, that in Massachusetts and Connecticut there was no occasion at all for sending missionaries to them; and yet he states that there were, at the time of his writing, 1763, thirty located in New-England, and had been increasing for forty years. After Dr. Mayhew wrote on the subject, the course of the society changed; and episcopal clergymen were supported only in towns where there was a good number of families of the church of England. He then observes, that the missionaries of the society, instead of being sent to the frontier and to new settlements, where the ability of the people was the poorest, have been placed in some of the oldest, most populous, and richest towns, where the best provision was before made for ministers, and where the worship and ordinances of God were regularly upheld. Mr. Apthorp spoke of the puritan fathers of New-England, as being 'superstitious and fanatical;' and their speculative opinions as rendering them 'gloomy and savage, and filling them with senseless horrors.' In referring to this charge and statement, Dr. Mayhew notices some of the articles of the creed of the church of England, especially those which inculcate the five peculiar tenets of calvinism; and proceeds to inquire, how Mr. Apthorp and other episcopal clergymen, who do not believe in calvinistic doctrines, could sincerely subscribe those articles?* He then says, 'it is my opinion that it has been too common for many in this country to express themselves, on these speculative points, in a manner quite exceptionable, however agreeably to the letter and spirit of those articles: yet, I believe, not more exceptionably than many eminent divines of the church of England have done.

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* For the greater part of the English clergy are anti-calvinistic. They have not the honesty of Milton, who was educated for the church, but said he could not submit to *mental bondage*

'It is probably true, that for half a century past, many ministers and others in New-England have discoursed more cautiously on these, than the greater part did before; and some, perhaps, have run into an opposite extreme, which may be owing to the prevalence of the church of England among us; many of whose ministers, if not the most, have long preached in a strain almost diametrically opposite to the articles aforesaid. But on supposition that we are really indebted to the society, or their missionaries, in any degree, for freeing the speculative doctrines of religion among us from what Mr. Apthorp calls 'senseless horrors,' yet we may well think it ungenerous and inconsistent in this gentleman, to revile our forefathers as a company of superstitious, senseless fanatics, for adhering so closely as they did, to the doctrinal articles of the church of England.

'Mr. Apthorp adds, as another instance of reformation, which is greatly the work of the episcopal society, that 'hypocrisy has *worn off, in proportion as men have seen the beauty of holiness.*' As to which, it may be observed, that we have not more clearly seen the beauty of holiness, since the prevalence of the church of England among us, than it was before, except perhaps by way of contrast. He does not pretend to say that the state of religion has been improved here, since the missions, as to morals, manners or piety. So that the holiness he speaks of, seems to be something different from these. And what sort of holiness that is, I will not pretend to conjecture. But as he supposes that hypocrisy has worn off, in proportion to the *glorious discovery* of it in the church of England, I must observe that the most detestable hypocrisy, in the sight of God and wise men, is that which is shown in a *zeal for rites and ceremonies,* for *external modes and forms*—especially uninstituted ones, the inventions of men, while the zealots are comparatively negligent of the weightier matters of the law and gospel.

Of which kind of hypocrisy, there has unquestionably been *much more* amongst us, since the society sent missionaries than before. But to what this is to be ascribed, is another question. I will not say, it is greatly the work of the society.

'Mr. Apthorp subjoins: 'above all, that exterminating monster, persecution, is itself exterminated, both from the temper and practice of the present age.' This he mentions as another instance, in which the state of religion is much improved among us, by means of the society and their missions. And any one ignorant of the country, would hence naturally conclude that there had been here *acts of uniformity* in worship, rigorously put in execution, till the establishment of episcopal churches in these parts. For, otherwise, this is not so pertinently said, as might be expected from so ingenious a gentleman. But this is a mistake, at best. No such acts ever took place here, so far as I am informed. But if there were, in the early days of the country, some instances of unjustifiable severity towards the quakers, they were much less under the notion of their being dissenters from our mode of worship, than of their being disturbers of the peace, and of the religious assemblies; in which respects they were, indeed, very disorderly, abusive, and highly culpable. But suppose our ancestors are justly chargeable with some instances of persecution; from whom, from what church, did they learn this practice? Episcopalians, certainly, should lay their hands upon their mouths.*

'But however blameable our forefathers might be, in some instances, yet how does it appear that our reformation, in this respect, is *greatly the work of the society*? Nothing of the kind had been known among us, for many years before the society had any missionaries in New-England. Nor is it a little odd that this gentleman should insinuate, that the posterity of those, who so cruelly persecuted our fathers out of England into America, should follow hither to teach us *charity* and *moderation*, and to *exterminate the exterminating monster, persecution*, from among us? Is he in jest, or in earnest?

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* With what face could an episcopalian complain of the persecuting temper of our ancestors, who, after being most wickedly oppressed for nearly two generations, for their desire of taking the sacred volume as their only oracle and rule in religion, were driven into a wilderness, and prepared a place of peace at their own great cost and sacrifices? Persecutions can never be justified. But a defence of our religious liberty, when those who most grievonsly persecuted and oppressed the *fathers*, undertake to exercise spiritual authority over the *children*, and claim a *divine* right to dictate and to control, as to their faith and worship, is not only justifiable, but a solemn duty.

'Wherever we have learnt christian forbearance and charity towards those who differ from us, he may be assured we did not learn it of the church of England; from which our beloved and honored dissenting brethren in England, even to this day, do not, in all respects, find the kindest usage, being subject to divers temporal inconveniences for their non-conformity. And notwithstanding the gentleman says, persecution is exterminated both from the temper and practice of the present age, I have heard some of the episcopalians among us speak with much regret, and even indignation, of the act of toleration, by which that of uniformity was in part repealed. Nay, it is reported that some warm episcopalians here have said, they hoped for the time when they might shoot dissenters as freely as they shoot pigeons. Not a few of them now discover a like spirit. Let the reader judge, then, whether the exterminating monster is entirely exterminated; and if so, how *greatly this is the work* of the society and their missionaries.

'It does not appear on the whole, that we are indebted to the society for the improvement of the state of religion among us, in any of the respects mentioned by Mr. Apthorp. In some respects, especially as to our morals, it is probably worse than if there had never been any episcopal church in the country. But even if it were true in fact, as suggested by the gentleman, still this could be no justification of the society, in alienating their funds and income from the direct, proper ends, as expressed in their charter.'

After referring to many instances of an exclusive and proselyting spirit, in members of the church of England, especially in their plans and conduct for introducing its peculiar forms and discipline into America, Dr. Mayhew says: 'Mr. Apthorp seems not to have forgotten that the great design of the society's missions in these parts, was to propagate the peculiarities of episcopacy, and to reconcile the people here to the church of England. *Hic labor, hoc opus est.* What success the society and its missionaries may have in this favorite project, which engrosses so much of the attention, and absorbs so much of the revenues of the former, while it is almost the sole business of the latter, God only knows. But I have good reason to think that, in general, I speak the sense of far the greater, wiser, and better part of the people of New-England, in the following paragraph.

'When we consider the real constitution of the church of England, and how alien her mode of worship is from the simplicity of the gospel, and the apostolic times; when we consider her enormous hierarchy, ascending from the dirt to the skies;* when we consider the visible effects of that church prevailing among us; when we reflect on what our forefathers suffered from the mitred, lordly successors of the fisherman of Galilee,* for non-conformity to a non-instituted mode of worship, which occasioned their flight to this western world; when we consider that, to be delivered from their unholy zeal and oppressions, countenanced by sceptered tyrants, they threw themselves into the arms of savages, as it were; when we reflect, that one principal motive to their exchanging the fair cities and villages of Great Britain for the inhospitable deserts of America, was that they might here enjoy, unmolested, God's holy word and ordinances, without such heterogeneous and spurious mixtures as were offensive to their well-informed consciences; when we consider the narrow, censorious, and bitter spirit that now prevails in many of the episcopalians among us, and what would probably be the sad consequence, if this party should once get the ascendency here, and a major vote in our house of assembly—in which case, the church of England might become the established religion here, *tests* be ordained, as in England, to exclude all but conformists from posts of honor and emolument, and all of us be taxed for the support of bishops and their underlings: when we consider these things, and too many others to be now enumerated, we cannot well think of that church's gaining ground here to any great extent, and especially of seeing bishops fixed among us, without much concern. Will they never let us rest in peace, except 'where all the weary are at rest?' Is it not enough that they have persecuted us out of the old world? Will they pursue us into the new, to convert or persecute us here; compassing sea and land, to make us proselytes, while they neglect the heathen and heathenish plantations? What other new world remains as an asylum for us from their oppressions? Where is the Columbus to explore one for us, and pilot us to it, before we are consumed by the flames, or deluged in a flood of episcopacy? I can hardly ever think of our being pursued thus from Britain into the wilds of America, and from continent to continent,* without calling to mind (though without applying) that passage in the Revelation of St. John—'And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place; where she is nourished from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood.''

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* This language was thought indecorous and unjustly severe. It *galled* the episcopalians, especially the bishops, exceedingly. Archbishop Secker and others referred to it with much temper, and not without evident feelings of *shame* that it was too true. For a truth, which shows the inconsistency and ambition of a man, or a party, is the greatest severity.

Mr. Apthorp pretended, that *orthodox* ministers, named in the charter of the society, referred only to the episcopal clergy. Dr. Mayhew showed, that the term was used only in opposition to Romish priests and jesuits; that the evils and errors proposed to be guarded against by the founders of the society, were 'atheism, infidelity, and popery;' and, therefore, that all *protestants* were considered orthodox, by the society; or that presbyterians and other dissenters were denounced as heretical. Dr. Mayhew points out the misquotations, or mistakes of Mr. Apthorp, as to the object of the society; and says, 'it would have ruined his design, if it had appeared from his quotations of the charter, as it clearly does from the charter itself, when fairly examined, that the society was *not* intended for the support of an episcopal clergy, where a competent provision was already made for a clergy of the congregational or presbyterian persuasion; but *only* where there was no such provision for ministers of any denomination among *protestants*, capable of instructing the people in the principles of true religion; and so, by God's blessing, guarding them against the fatal errors of 'atheism, infidelity, and popery.'

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* For nearly fifty years before the pilgrim band settled Plymouth, or the puritans came to Massachusetts, those in England who would not conform to the ceremonies of the church, and who did not approve of various grades among the ministers of Christ, were so much oppressed and so evil-treated, that many left the kingdom, and went to Switzerland and various parts of Holland.

'It might be naturally supposed that the society, being chiefly episcopalians, would employ missionaries of their communion. But it will not hence follow, that they would send them where protestant ministers, of another communion, were already provided for and supported. This latter is what the *defence* of the society requires; and it is a sophism, which runs through Mr. Apthorp's pamphlet. If he did not perceive the clauses, which he has suppressed in so strange a manner, to be of any importance, I blush for him as a reputed scholar; but if, knowing them to be so, he omitted them, in order to impose on his unwary readers, and the better to disguise the true and original design of the society, I am in pain for him as a Christian; especially as one, who is by office, and I would hope by example also, an instructor of others in christian *simplicity* and godly *sincerity*. The charter knows of no distinction among Christians, except that of protestants and papists. Its grand object—a truly glorious one—professes to be the promotion of Christianity, considered in opposition to 'atheism, infidelity and popery;' not episcopacy and 'the liturgy of the church of England,' in opposition to congregational or presbyterian. What, therefore, is justly matter of objection and complaint, is, the society turning its arms, as it were, against other protestants, and in spending a great or chief part of its funds in supporting a *party*.

'The name or title of the society is, *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel;* and it cannot enter into the mind of any one, that any part of its design was the building up of one protestant church on the ruins of another. And this liberal view has been taken by some of the bishops, who early preached before the society.* I have read most of their sermons with pleasure. Bishop Butler, in 1739, says, 'Our design is undoubtedly good, as we wish all *pious* men, of EVERY denomination, to join with us; and they will thus assist us in spreading the knowledge of the scriptures, as a divine revelation.' But what force could there be in this reasoning, to induce protestant dissenters to assist the society, on supposition it was a known fact that the society had deviated essentially from this noble plan, by applying a large portion of their funds in supporting a *party* in America, and in undermining the congregational and presbyterian churches here? Could it be justly expected that the dissenters in Great Britain would assist the society in any designs and endeavors against their brethren in New-England?

'In 1706, bishop Beveridge, who then preached before the society, observes—'We must take care that our zeal be according to knowledge, in our efforts to spread the gospel; not for any private opinions, or party; not for either side of a doubtful disputation, or for mere tradition, wherein some are apt to spend all their zeal and labors, and have none left for what is truly the great object, and that is to induce men to embrace and obey the gospel.' What, then, must be the surprise of good people, on the other side of the water, when they find that, notwithstanding these liberal and generous professions, they had been many years prosecuting in America, and among protestants, a scheme and a design, not so unlike to that which they condemn in another *famous* society, that *de propaganda fide*, whose insidious efforts have so often aroused and alarmed the good English protestants in the mother country, for nearly two hundred years?

'It is well known that the first settlers of New-England came hither chiefly on account of their sufferings for nonconformity to the established English church. They fled hither, as an asylum from episcopal persecution, seconded by royal power; which often condescended to be subservient to the views of domineering prelates, before the glorious revolution. This is now acknowledged by many episcopalians; and the society says, that 'it was the unhappiness of New-England to be first planted by persons disaffected to the church of England, *as by law established;* and most of them took refuge in that new country, on account of their sufferings for non-conformity at home.' This fact must be admitted, that it was their *unhappiness* to suffer thus. But that it was the unhappiness of New-England to be first planted by conscientious non-conformists, is not so clear a point. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that they were *disaffected* to such a cruel, persecuting church, as that was before the revolution of 1688. It is also certain that these refugees were far from being of loose and irregular characters. Had they been void of conscience towards God, they would not have suffered so much for non-conformity, and fled their native land, that they might serve him, without the fear or wrath of man, in a wilderness. If they had been persons void of religious principles, they would, in all probability, have lived and died in the communion of that church, for dissenting from which they suffered so much. That they were a sober, virtuous, and religious people, is certain; though they were not free from all human errors and frailties.

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* He does not say *all* the bishops, nor those who had then lately preached on the occasion.

'Can it be supposed that, where provision is made by law for settling and supporting a learned and pious clergy, and where every town has such a minister, as in Massachusetts and Connecticut especially, there the society's missionaries were to be sent, instead of places destitute of protestant ministers, and without means of supporting them, and where the king's subjects seemed to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity, or in great danger of being perverted to popish superstition and idolatry? Congregationalists in New-England are known to hold them at least in as great abhorrence as episcopalians do. How much better, in this respect, is the state of true religion among us, than it is in England, under the immediate eye and inspection of the venerable bishops; where, notwithstanding all their *pious* efforts, there are many Roman Catholics, infidels, and sceptics, if not absolute atheists? It may be added, that the great body of the people in New-England, by means of schools and the instructions of a learned and able ministry, are philosophers and divines, in comparison with the common class of people in Great Britain, of the communion of the church there by law established.

'Should it be said, (which is the most plausible thing which can be said,) that in some parts of even Massachusetts and Connecticut, the provision made for the support of ministers, has been mean, and therefore that they come within the design of the society; several things may be observed in reference thereto. First: good ministers of Christ, who have the interest of religion chiefly at heart, do not aspire after worldly riches and grandeur. Secondly: the provision for ministers here, though not to be compared with the rich benefices in England, has not yet been so very *mean*, but that a competent number of learned ministers have been found to supply the churches. Again, however, 'some of them, in small and frontier towns, have been meanly provided for;' and this is alleged as bringing such places within the true intent of the society's charter.—I will allow the validity of the argument, on either of the two following suppositions. First: that the society has remitted something, from time to time, to our poor, though learned, orthodox and pious ministers, settled in such places, for their help and encouragement; which would have been quite agreeable to the spirit of the charter, and the noble principles of the royal grantor, however alien it might possibly have been from the principles and views of the episcopal grantees. Or, secondly: if it appears that the society has actually established their *own* missions, in such poor, small, or exposed places, only, instead of placing them in our richest and most populous towns, where sufficient provision was before made for ministers. But if neither of these things can be made to appear, it will be in vain, and, indeed, only a piece of hypocrisy, to allege the very mean support of ministers here, as an argument for the society in applying a great part of its revenue for the maintenance of religious worship in New-England.

'We have the testimony of Dr. Bray, an early and useful missionary of the society, and, even before its incorporation, the bishop of London's commissary in a southern colony, that, 'from New-York, northward, he found very little need of missionaries, to preach Christianity; and in Connecticut and Massachusetts, *none at all.* And it is believed that Dr. Bray's statement is entitled to far more credence than Mr. Apthorp's highly colored representation. It is believed, the people in Massachusetts and Connecticut had as *serious a sense of religion, long before there were episcopal missionaries among them*, as they have had since. Dr. Bray is express, that, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, there was no occasion at all for missionaries to propagate Christianity; and the society say, that he gave a true account of the religious state of these colonies. So that, in sending episcopal missionaries here, it cannot be so much to propagate Christianity, as something different from it—viz., the peculiarities of the church of England.' *

Dr. Mayhew gives a statement, made from abstracts of the society's proceedings, in which it appears that, in 1718, they had three missionaries in New-England; in 1730, fourteen; in 1745, twenty-four; and in 1761, thirty. At the last period, they had only five in Carolina, and one in Georgia, where, probably, the clergy were very few. Missions were then supported wholly, or in part, in Boston, Salem, Cambridge, Scituate, Newburyport, Portsmouth, New-London, Fairfield, Middletown, New-Haven and Stratford. He proceeds to relate how most of the episcopal societies originated and were formed—viz., by the discontented, and for interest—and that the greater part were composed of those professedly not episcopalians, but who joined in the episcopal worship, to save paying a tax for religious instructions: for then, those who attended the *church*, were not assessed for the minister's salary—he being paid by the society in England.

'In some places, even where they make the greatest show of numbers, there are only ten or twelve families. There are only ten families, it is said, in Cambridge, which usually attend the service of the church, lately set up in that place, a few rods from the college and the congregational house of worship. And what is this, but setting up altar against altar? There are some who believe the principal end and true spirit of that mission was not ill-explained by an episcopalian, who said, 'I don't care for them; we have got a church in the *munns* of them.' These small parties, thus encouraged and supported by the society, in different parts of New-England, at a great expense, have all the appearance of *entering wedges;* or rather, of little lodgments made, in carrying on the crusade, or spiritual siege of our churches, with the hope they will one day submit to an episcopal sovereign. And it will appear probable, on careful inquiry, that this has long been the design of the society; and that it is the true plan and grand mystery of its operations in New-England.'

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* It was said, that many of the dissenters contributed to the funds of the society of episcopalians, in the belief, at first, that the missionaries would be sent to the poor and destitute, and to new settlements, where there were no other ministers.

Dr. Mayhew quotes a letter of Rev. Dr. Colman, written in 1712, in which he complains of the conduct of the society in sending episcopal clergyman into old and populous towns, where the gospel was preached; but attributes this conduct to the misstatements of a few discontented individuals. Dr. Colman refers to Newbury and Braintree, in particular; and says, there were only two families of episcopalians in the former place, and that the church in Newbury was attended only by a few persons, who became dissatisfied with the location of a meeting-house. Dr. Kennet, dean of Peterborough, to whom Dr. Colman addressed his letter, replied, in a very candid and courteous manner, and said, 'the great aim of the society was, to propagate Christianity in such parts of the colonies as were *destitute of settled ministers.*'

Mr. Apthorp spoke of the rigid calvinism of the early people of New-England, and said, 'their tenets made men gloomy, and represented the Deity as arbitrary and severe;' and asserts that 'the episcopalian preachers, would render the people more cheerful and liberal.' In reference to this remark, Dr. Mayhew says:—'I own it is my opinion, that it has been too common with many in New-England to express themselves in a manner quite exceptionable on some speculative doctrines, however agreeable to the letter and spirit of the articles of the church of England, which all her ministers are required to subscribe ; and for not submitting to which, that communion has lost many of the brightest ornaments in the nation.

'It is probably true, that, at the present time, and for fifty years past, many ministers in New-England have discoursed more cautiously on these points, than formerly ; and some may have run into the opposite extreme, which may be owing to the prevalence of the church of England among us, whose ministers, generally, have long preached in a strain almost diametrically opposite to the articles they subscribe. But suppose we really are indebted to the society, or its missionaries, for freeing us from gloomy doctrines in religion, we cannot but think it rather ungenerous and inconsistent in Mr. Apthorp, to revile our forefathers, as a company of wild fanatics, for adhering so closely as they did to the doctrinal articles of the church of England.

One of the episcopal dignitaries, who had just preached before the society in England, spoke of its very noble and charitable design of bringing back their dissenting brethren in America, to *good manners and a christian life;* and boasted, that 'the word of God, (under their missionaries,) mightily grew and prevailed in New-England, according to the *liturgy* of the English established church.' 'Brave, indeed!' observes Dr. Mayhew—'What good news from a far country, that the word of God should prevail, according to the *liturgy*, which he seems to consider as a standard, by which *the word of God* is to be tried! Could the right reverend preacher have truly said, that pure religion prevailed in New-England, according to the holy scriptures, and that the converts to the church were generally pious, virtuous, and good men, it might have been a triumph quite as becoming a christian divine, as that the word of God prevailed according to the liturgy. Or if he had said that the word—the inventions and commandments of *men*—mightily prevailed in New-England, according to the *liturgy*, he might, perhaps, have come nearer to the truth. But with some persons, it appears, the liturgy is all in all. If that is embraced, from whatever petulent, frivolous humor, or dishonorable motive, then, to be sure, the word of God mightily grows and prevails.'

Dr. Mayhew then proceeds to show, that there had long been a design, both with the civil government and the hierarchy in Great Britain, to spread episcopacy, and to establish bishops in the colonies; and that the forming of the society there, for propagating the gospel in America, was a part of the grand design. He says, it was declared, as early as 1706, that one object of the society was to produce an *agreement* in faith and worship; that is, to have the act of uniformity in force in the colonies. The want of a bishop, it was pretended, was much complained of by the church of England men in America. And all young students in theology, who desired episcopal ordination, were expressly invited to England; and their expenses were to be paid by the society. The plan for supporting bishops in the colonies, was again proposed in 1715; and, at different periods, till the revolution of 1775.

'It is supposed,' says Dr. Mayhew, in 1763, 'that a certain *superb edifice*, in a neighboring town, was designed, from its foundation, for a palace of one of the *humble* successors of the apostles.'*

'Great injustice was done,' said Dr. Mayhew, 'to the people in small and weak towns and plantations, who were originally declared to be the objects of the society's benevolent and pious efforts to spread the gospel. For such it was designed; such needed these religious labors and teachers; and by supporting many in old settlements, where there were able and pious ministers, the others were actually defrauded; and thus the late proceedings of the society were contrary to its true spirit and early design. In 1761, the expenses for supporting episcopal missionaries in New-England, exclusive of books, amount to £1200 sterling. During a period of twenty-five years, there had been expended, in this way, in New-England, £35,000 sterling; which, to speak in the mildest terms, has been misapplied.

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* This is supposed to be the large house in Cambridge, which in 1775, was the residence of a man who did more good to the country, than many bishops would probably have done.

'Near the close of his pamphlet, Mr. Apthorp talks in a rapturous strain about 'beholding this country—a great part of it lately won from a Roman Catholic prince—gradually acceding, with its numerous inhabitants, to the empire of Christ; and of flourishing in arts and in science.' The arts and sciences are certainly valuable in their places, though they do not seem to be among the primary and principal blessings which flow from the gospel. And who can doubt, but they will be as much improved by the mission of so great a scholar as Mr. Apthorp, in the confines of the college, as the religious state of the country has been amended by the episcopal missions in general. Perhaps this was one design of the society; that so the advancement of learning among us may in time be as greatly their work, as the reformation of our religion is at present. I would hope, much more so.

'After quoting some lines from Virgil, Mr. Apthorp concludes with a few verses from Pope's Messiah; though, if he had mentioned Pope's name, or marked them as a quotation, he might have been thought less a poet, by common people, and given ill-natured critics less occasion to charge him with plagiarism. Not that I in the least doubt his *poetical* talents. For even in this didactic performance, he has obliged us with many specimens of a singular imagination, a florid rhetorical diction, a *lively* way of *reasoning*, *marvellous* turns of argument, surprising hyperboles, and many other *licenses*, even in grammar, truly poetical.

'Now, from a gentleman, whose prosaic, argumentative compositions are so agreeably *bemusing*, what might not be expected, if he were to write poetry in *good earnest?* But it may be doubted, whether he will be able to spare time from his more important labors, to oblige the world in this respect, especially if, as some of late suppose,

—— 'his reverend mind
Begins to grow *right-reverendly* inclined.' '

Dr. Mayhew adds, in a note, that 'he had no personal prejudice against Mr. Apthorp, and that the main design he had in view, was to serve the cause of truth and righteousness, of pure and undefiled religion; in distinction from all private and party views. Though he is in principle and profession an anti-episcopalian, he loves and honors the candid and moderate of every denomination among Christians; by no means excepting those of the episcopal communion, with several of whom he has personal and agreeable acquaintance; nor would he willingly and unnecessarily give offence to any of that profession.'

Some references to letters, and other notices of the 'Observations,' &c., showing the opinion of eminent men, as to the ability and importance of Dr. Mayhew's statements and reasoning, relating to the subject which he treated, will be proper in this place, before giving an account of the replies by episcopalians.

Believing that every thing from a man so learned and distinguished as Dr. Lardner, will be interesting, several more of his letters to Dr. Mayhew are here given. They refer to different subjects, but serve to exhibit the spirit of the times, as well as his opinion of the character which is the subject of this memoir. The following, written in May, 1763, from London, was forwarded by Mr. Hollis, the mutual friend of Lardner and Mayhew.

'I am favored with your letter of last November; and, so far as I remember, it is the last letter I have received from you. At the same time, I received your two well studied sermons, concerning the divine goodness.* I have not preached for ten years past. I found it necessary to decline stated preaching, in order to carry on my long work of the 'Credibility,' &c. I also resigned my salary, that I might make more expedition in a work, which has been expensive as well as laborious to the author. They who publish their works by subscription, secure themselves from loss, and sometimes receive an advantage. This is seldom to be expected by such as trust the generosity of the public, in mere matters of literature. I have not taken a copy of the letter to which you refer; but I am not sensible I need make any apology for it. I can write a civil letter to a man of different sentiments from myself; and I believe that Dr. Mayhew can do the same. Wishing you comfort and happiness in life, and success and acceptance in your public labors, I remain, dear sir, &c.'

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* These sermons will be noticed in another part of this volume.

Dr. Lardner again wrote Dr. Mayhew, as follows, under date of London, July 18, 1763.

'I am favored with your 'Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel,' &c.; and I heartily thank you for it. It is a seasonable performance, and written with great freedom and spirit. I show your volume to as many friends as I have opportunity, or lend it to some to read, to render it more general and useful. And doubtless it is approved by them. But some say, it is prolix, and not void of repetitions; and some say, they wonder that the episcopalian missionaries should be able to pervert or persuade any of you—they being, as they apprehend, very mean and unworthy. I answer, that forms and liturgies are now *fashionable.*

'Be pleased, sir, to let me know how many congregational churches there are at Boston; how many societies of baptists and quakers; and how many episcopal churches; and what salaries they have.*

'I think it probable that before long there will be an American bishop; but whether he will be fixed at Boston, or some other place, cannot be foreseen or guessed. The church of England is here in a flourishing condition. Their bishops, deans, &c., are men of learning, with rich salaries. The revenues of the cathedrals are increased by the rise of rents. And yet one bishoprick is not enough: they have commendam. For instance, the famous Dr. Warburton, when made bishop of Gloucester, obtained from the king, together with it, the *golden* prebend at Durham, with more than £500 a year, and also a very rich rectorie in Huntingtonshire, in commendam. The bishoprick of Oxford, besides the living which has always gone with it, has now also annexed to it the deanery of St. Paul's, at London, which is much richer than formerly: for, in Dr. Tillotson's time, the value was £900 per annum, but is now supposed to be £1500 or £2000. Most other bishops have also rich livings in commendam.

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* There were then in Boston nine congregational churches, two baptist, three episcopalian, one presbyterian, and one quaker.

'The better part of the dissenters, in London at least, is declining. The highly orthodox, or methodistical part of the dissenters, flourishes and increases. Our gentlemen, or opulent merchants among the dissenters, in my opinion, are much to blame. They do little for their ministers; but give a great deal as governors of hospitals, &c., where church chaplains are maintained, and to the sons of the clergy on merely charities, so called. Our ministers are poor,* and our opulent men love to have it so, whilst the church clergy flourish, and *we* contribute to it. Our laity is illiterate. Our ministers would have more learning, and would show it if they had encouragement. Our declensions, if I judge right, are more owing to defects of our gentry, than to the choice or sloth of the ministers; who would do better generally, and make a better appearance, if the lower people would let them, and the men of better condition would support them and keep them in countenance.

'I write my own sentiments to you, with great freedom; but I may make mistakes. I do not now *give* away any of the volumes of the 'Credibility,' &c., which have cost me so much, having been published without subscription, or any other kind of encouragement worth mentioning. I intend to put up for you, with this letter, 'The Circumstances of the Jews,' 'Case of the Demoniacs,' 'Remarks on Dr. Ward's Dissertations,' 'A Dissertation on two Epistles, ascribed to Clement of Rome'; which are recommended to your acceptance. And if you have any of them already, you may accommodate any friend, to whom they would be acceptable.

'As you are now engaged in a controversy with the *church*, I shall observe a few facts to you. The 'Credibility of the Gospel History' is a work consisting of seventeen volumes, 8vo.—the first part in two volumes, critical; the second part in twelve volumes, ecclesiastical history, in a free way; the supplement, containing the history of the writers of the books of the New-Testament, in three volumes. I have given away many. Who have been the purchasers of the rest, I cannot say. But I apprehend that as many or more copies have been purchased by the clergy of the church of England, than by dissenters—which I cannot but mention as a thing to their advantage. For as to our laity here, (both of the church and of the dissenters,) I suppose that very few of them mind things of literature. And as there is merit in the church, as well as among ourselves, they deserve to be treated civilly.

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*Strong evidence, surely, of sincerity, and of love of christian truth, in preference to worldly possessions and emoluments.

'I have thus enlarged to you, in confidence. I trust you will receive with candor what I have mentioned in a very free and open manner—but I am liable to mistakes. And perhaps this letter, after having been read by you, may as well be destroyed. It is time to conclude. Wishing you prosperity in temporals and spirituals, I remain your sincere friend, &c.

'Since writing what is above, a worthy minister of this city looked in upon me; and your book lying on the table, I told him, that you charged the society with abusing their trust, and misapplying their money. He replied, 'I remember hearing the present archbishop of York, at Bow-street church, in his sermon to the society, owning the charge without any hesitation, and undertaking to justify it. The archbishop, then bishop of St. Asaphs, told his congregation, without reserve, that 'the business of that society was not so much to increase the number of Christians, by conversion of the Indians, as to *unite the subjects of Great Britain in one communion.*' 'I heard him myself,' he added, 'and that with great astonishment.' And this person is a gentleman of veracity. But this was a strange declaration for a bishop to make. However, I hope that nothing will be done, nor any attempt made to deprive you of your liberties. I put the question to you, whether you should not have sent over a number of copies of the 'Observations,' so as that they might be advertised here and sold at some book-store? So far from that, I understand that Dr. Avery has not a copy of them; at which I am surprised; for he is your friend, and I made no doubt but you had kept up your correspondence with him, as you certainly should have done. I do not know but you may be offended at some things in the second volume of my sermons; (7th sermon, page 184, particularly.) If so, it may not be amiss to get a tract, published a few years ago, entitled, 'A Letter concerning the question, whether the *Logos* supplied the place of a human soul in the person of Jesus Christ,' to which are now added two postscripts. The tract is anonymous: but I have been told, it is approved by your honorable correspondent here.* [Hollis.]

In September, 1764, Dr. Lardner wrote the following letter to Mr. Hollis.

'By your favor I have received two more books, presents from Dr. Mayhew—'A Letter of Reproof,' and 'Remarks on an Anonymous Tract.'† So far as I can perceive, the last is well written; and must be considered a good performance. But I had rather not write to him, for he is very busy; and I have long since endeavored to contract my epistolary correspondence, on account of my age. If, therefore, you will be so good as to make my acknowledgments to him, in one of your letters to him, you will lay an obligation on us both.

'I sometime ago received a letter from Rev. Dr. Wigglesworth, at Cambridge, requesting my books for the library of Harvard college; with which request I have complied, and have sent him the seventeen volumes of my 'Credibility,' and other things. Some while ago, I received a like request from Rev. Mr. Stiles, of Rhode-Island, in behalf of the Redwood library at Newport; with which request I also complied; though these demands are by no means suited to my present circumstances; having already given away too many of my volumes. The parcel for Harvard college has been committed to the care of Mr. Jasper Mauduit.'*

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* This tract was by Dr. Lardner. He considers Jesus as a man; but inspired and divinely qualified to be our teacher and Savior, having the spirit without measure imparted to him at all times.

† The first of these was a reply to Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, who had attacked Dr. Mayhew's sermons 'on the Divine Goodness;' and the other was his answer to archbishop Secker.

Extract of a letter from Dr. John Reynolds, England, to Dr. Mayhew, dated April, 1764.

'I am much obliged by your favor of November last, by Mr. ****, as also for the packet committed to his care. I was extremely glad to see the pamphlet;† having before heard of the controversy; and was too well acquainted with the conduct of the society, and the character of their missionaries, to expect that you should be treated in a more polite, or a more christian manner, than I find to be the case. I hope you will not be discouraged, by the ill usage you

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[*] One cannot peruse the letters of Dr. Lardner, without strong emotions of gratitude, and respectful admiration, for his disinterested labors and his liberal donations for the extension of pure Christianity and religious truth, and for the confirmation of the gospel. And Dr. Mayhew was the principal agent in this good work.

Dr. Lardner died in 1763, in the 85th year of his age. Some of his letters to Dr. Mayhew were written only a few years before his death. The works of Dr. Lardner were principally on the evidences of Christianity. They make seventeen or eighteen volumes, and are well known to the biblical student. His 'Vindication' of the miracles of Christ, especially the raising of the Widow's son, of Jairus's daughter, and of Lazarus, in reply to the objections of Woolston, (who denied their reality, to which he was led by the mystical and allegorical notions of Origen—and which there is a disposition to revive by a few in our time,) was considered very able and satisfactory. Dr Lardner spent three years at Utrecht, and a part of a year at Leyden, from his fifteenth to his twentieth year. Before he was twenty, he returned to England, and devoted more than five years in study and preparing for the ministry. He did not begin to preach till he was twenty-five, and was a preacher several years without an invitation to settle. His 'Credibility of the Gospel History' is an elaborate work, and almost invaluable; but the substance of it is to be found in Mr. Norton's late volume on the genuineness of the books of the New-Testament, with some new remarks. The opinion of Dr. Lardner, respecting our Savior's nature, is agreeable to what is now called, in England, the unitarian, and, by others, the humanitarian theory. It subjected him to much reproach and censure in his life. But no one had a stronger faith in the *plenary* inspiration of Christ, than he had. He believed the *Logos*, or Spirit of God, dwelt in him; or guided, directed, enlightened and assisted him, at all times; and that therefore he was called the Son of God; as John the Baptist, the herald of our Lord, says—'I saw the Spirit of God descending on him, and abiding on him; therefore I know that this is the Son of God.'

[†] These probably were Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' &c., and a defence of the same, in reply to the 'Candid Examination.' Other parts of the controversy had not then appeared.

have met with, from proceeding in the defence of the cause you have espoused, if it should be thought requisite. With great concern, I lately saw the account of the fatal catastrophy to Harvard college. I hope it will soon rise from its ashes, to greater advantage ; and the library be replaced by the generosity of public-spirited individuals.

'I am led to think, that you take me to be a more knowing man, with respect to some things, than I really am, or can pretend to be. My knowledge of the Hebrew language is quite superficial. The various reading, referred to in my former letter, relates to Isaiah xxxv. 2 ; and is supported by the lxx. and the Arabic. There is nothing in the first verse, which answers to the words 'for them.' 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad ; the desert shall rejoice and blossom abundantly as the rose ; and the banks of Jordan shall rejoice,' &c. So that it appears to be a prophecy of the Messiah, beginning with the opening of his ministry on the banks of Jordan. Dr. Kennicott proceeds in his work with diligence and success.

'I shall be happy to hear from you by any hand, nor think much of the expense of your letters. I pray God to establish your health, and extend your usefulness.'

The following is from Mr. Towgood, and is dated in 1764.

'Rev. and Dear Sir,—I have received, by Mr. *****, and read with great pleasure, your 'Observations on the Charter of the Society for Propagating the Gospel,' &c., and their defence : for which I return you my most hearty thanks. It is a subject I have long wished to see examined and presented in a just light, by so good a hand. It has long appeared to me a conduct far beneath the dignity of that society, and beyond all dispute, quite contrary to its original institution and design, to take the money collected here, and partly from dissenters, under the specious pretence of propagating the gos- in foreign parts, and applying it to the mean purpose of propagating the peculiarities of a particular sect or church, where the gospel is allowed to be already preached and professed ; and even in a manner which themselves will confess to be but little short of their own *admired perfection ;* especially, when so large a field, in other provinces, and on the Indian borders, so loudly call for their aid. But bigotry has been justly described as deaf and blind.

'The mean attempt of your '*candid*' Examiner to awaken the displeasure of your brethren, on account of a supposed difference in some speculative points, has, I hope, been received by them with the contempt and indignation it justly deserves. However the managers here may attempt to parry the blow your 'Observations' have given them, with an air of indifference, I think it has made a sensible impression, and that you will find them less busy in invading your provinces by their missionaries, and less bold in their misapplication of their funds.

'I hear that you have some kind of colleges erected for the Indians. Are they still existing; and what effect have they produced? I much fear that all attempts to convert them, in their present state, will have little success, and that they must first be *civilized* before they are Christianized: first become social men before they are Christians.

'The children of this world are, perhaps also in this respect, wiser than the children of light. What the jesuits are said to have done in Paraguay, seems to indicate what one would wish to see done to the savages of America, viz.: reduced into townships, brought to live in society, subjected to some civil government: then there might be some hope of their receiving and relishing the truths of the gospel. Till this is done, nothing short of the primitive miraculous gifts of tongues, &c., seems adequate to this great and desirable end.

'Farewell, my dear brother! Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. You are fighting manfully, under the banner of the King of righteousness and truth, of liberty and peace. Great is his kingdom; and it shall finally prevail. May his spirit and blessing attend all your pious labors, prays, and shall always pray, your very affectionate brother, MIC. TOWGOOD.'

The biographer of Hollis, says—'It was believed that no man in the country was so much master of the subject, or so able to set it in a proper light, as Dr. Mayhew. The 'Observations' were read by unprejudiced persons with surprise; by interested readers, with vexation; and by the friends of religion and civil and religious liberty, with pleasure; as a performance worthy of the serious consideration of the guardians of the public, at home and abroad.' With these sentiments, Mr. Hollis prepared the pamphlet for publication in England, and distributed copies among his personal friends, and to others, also, whose reputation entitled them to the epithet *ingenuous*.

John Adams says—'If any one supposes this controversy to have no influence on the great subsequent question, he is grossly ignorant. It spread (the plan of episcopizing the colonies, especially New-England,) an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension, that bishops and dioceses and churches and priests and tythes, were to be imposed on us by parliament. It was known that neither the king, nor the ministry, nor archbishops, could appoint bishops in America, *without an act of parliament*; and if parliament could tax us, they could establish the church of England here, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies and tythes, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism-shops. How then can it ever be said, the writings of Mayhew, against introducing and establishing episcopacy, were not important in support of the cause of civil and religious liberty, and against the claims of arbitrary power in the British parliament?

Samuel Adams and R. T. Paine, expreſsed the same opinion respecting the importance of Dr. Mayhew's statement of the conduct of the episcopal society in England, and of his account of the designs of the English hierarchy, united with the civil power, against the religious and political liberties of the colonies. The writer heard judge Paine express such opinion, after the revolution. The advocates for 'canon and feudal law,' they believed, were ready and fully disposed to extend their principles through America; to make mere tenants or vassals of the people; and to bring them back to the ghostly power of the bishops.

The following letter from Rev. Dr. Benson, of London, being overlooked, was not inserted in its proper place. But as his letters must be interesting to most who may peruse this memoir, it is deemed best to give this here, though not relating to the 'Observations.' It bears date, London, April 16, 1761.

'Dear Sir,—Some time ago, I had packed for you, and forwarded by my good friend, Mr. Samuel Vaughan, of London, the second volume of Dr. Taylor's Hebrew Concordance, accompanied with a letter from me. I have not had any letter from you since; and am therefore afraid you never received the parcel. Dr. Taylor lately died suddenly; by whose death I have lost one of my most esteemed friends; and the hope of meeting him in heavenly happiness is most delightful to me.

'By the bearer, I send you a copy of the third edition of my 'Reasonableness of the Christian Religion,' much improved beyond the second. And I shall be obliged to you to promote the spread of it in your parts. I have lately finished a pretty large work, the study of some years, entitled, 'The Life of Jesus Christ,' in which I have endeavored to illustrate, in several chapters, the remarkable actions and discourses of our Lord; and to show, from his temper and behavior, that we have internal proof that his mission and character were divine; and that it is impossible he should be either an enthusiast or an impostor. It has not yet gone to the press; but I apprehend it will amount to a pretty large quarto.

'I thank you for the several books which you have sent me from time to time. It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you in England:* but I now despair. I grow old and feeble, and have had but a bad winter. The spirit of freedom, which here decays very much, and which, I fear, will be succeeded by bigotry and enthusiasm, will, I hope, spread in America. You seem to be a man after my own heart; but there are but few like-minded. I should have rejoiced to have embraced you in this world. I hope to do so in a better state;* and am, dear Dr. Mayhew, your very affectionate friend and humble servant,

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* By this, and similar hints in other letters from his friends in England, it is probable Dr. Mayhew had proposed to visit that country.

'GEORGE BENSON.

'P. S. I understand that Mr. Condy† is acquainted with you, which induced me the rather to see him, and to write you by him.'

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* Such declarations, from a man of Dr. Benson's enlarged and liberal views, while they exalt our opinion of him, do but make us the more regret that the letters of Dr. Mayhew to him, Lardner, Foster, and others, are lost.

† Mr. Condy was probably a son of Rev. Mr. Condy, and was a bookseller in Boston. Of this, however, I am not positive. For Rev. Mr. Condy was a liberal man for his time, and of an inquisitive and literary taste. One of his sons was a bookseller in Boston, after the revolution.

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks on Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' entitled 'A Candid Examination' —'A Letter to a Friend, by a Member of the Society in England'—Dr. Mayhew's defence of his 'Observations.'

There were several replies made to Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations'—four by persons in this country, which were towards the close of the year 1763;* and one published in England, early in 1764. They were all anonymous. The latter was attributed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards admitted to have been written by him. The authors of the others were not known at the time, but the letter annexed to the 'Candid Examination,' was said, by Rev. Mr. Hobart, of Fairfield, Connecticut, to be written by Rev. Samuel Johnson, of that colony, who was one of those that professed to be dissatisfied with their ordination by their brethren in the ministry, and went to England, 1722, to receive it by the imposition of the sacred and spirit-giving hands of a bishop. Rev. Dr. Cutler, rector of Christ Church, in Boston, then upwards of seventy years of age, first had the reputation of writing the 'Examination,' but without any proof; then it was charged on Rev. Dr. Johnson, who disavowed it. Rev. Dr. Caner, of Boston, (King's Chapel,) had the credit of being the writer, at one time; but it was afterwards believed he had no other agency in it, than correcting the press.* But Dr. Eliot supposed it Caner's.

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* Two of which were short, and not deemed worthy of notice; one of them published at Portsmouth, and one at Newport.

The 'Candid Examination,' was rather a *smart* than an able performance. For it evaded the real merits of the question, whether the episcopal society had misapplied its funds; and whether their missionaries had misrepresented the religious character and condition of the people in the colonies.

The writer also abused Dr. Mayhew, personally and officially, by attempts to excite the prejudices of other ministers against him, for his supposed heresy. The 'Examiner' complained, as he justly might, of the treatment of episcopalians by our puritan fathers in New-England; but forgot to state how severely they had been persecuted in their native country, by the hierarchy. And he scarcely attempted to prove, that the society had not deviated from its original design; or that the people, where the episcopal clergy were located, were without religious instructions from able ministers of the congregational order.

He also, as well as others who noticed Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' rather avoided joining direct issue with him, in his charge against the society, of a misapplication of its funds; and attempted to show, that Dr. Mayhew's chief aim was to oppose the episcopalians, and excite the prejudices of the people in the colonies against them, as a corrupt and persecuting church. He had, indeed, said much on this point, and shown the errors and usurpations of the English hierarchy ; but his leading object was to prove the conduct of the society in England to be a departure from the express original design of the founders.

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* Cutler and Caner, it must be recollected, were then episcopalian ministers in Boston. Probably these two, with Johnson, of Connecticut, were joint contributors to the pamphlet, and it was known that Caner examined and corrected the printing of it. Though Dr Johnson denied writing it, many supposed he had some agency in it, and wrote a *part*—so that he might *verbally* assert he was not the author. Much of the matter of the pamphlet, it was said, evidently came from him. He was then nearly seventy, and had been an episcopal minister and missionary of the English society, for forty years. Dr. Cutler had been rector of Yale college, and was now upwards of seventy. He was a good classical scholar; but his other learning consisted chiefly in an acquaintance with the writings of the dignitaries of the church of England. It was on account of the age of Cutler and Johnson, probably, that Dr. Mayhew said—'The performance was the fruit of *malice on decrepit age.*' It was very bitter, and *uncandid* in its attacks on Dr. Mayhew's anti-calvinism, and in attempts to destroy his influence with the *orthodox* ministers of the congregational order—and yet he was more *evangelical* than most episcopalians of that or the present age. Dr Cutler was an assuming man, after he had been ordained by a bishop in England, and claimed great respect and authority on that account. He asserted a right to a seat in the board of overseers of Harvard college; but his claim was not allowed.

This conduct of the episcopal missionary society in England—viz., the supporting of their clergy in the old and populous towns of New-England, with a view of extending their influence in America—was but one instance of an intolerant and exclusive spirit; but it was proper, in a reply to Mr. Apthorp, to direct his 'Observations' chiefly to that point ; and yet it was far from being irrelevant to refer to the assumed power, the defects and errors of the church of England, generally. It will be accordingly found, that in his 'Observations,' but still more in his 'Defence,' (which is a reply to the 'Candid Examination' of his first publication, on the subject,) he has related many acts of oppression and persecution, committed by authority of the church of England and its higher ecclesiastics, which they did not wish to hear. He endeavored also to prove, and most impartial persons thought he did prove, that the episcopal system was very different from that enjoined or sanctioned by the apostles, and in a great measure, of mere human policy and device.*

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* Dr. Mayhew referred only incidentally, to the rites and ceremonies of the church ; as the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling and bowing at the altar, the use of the surplice by the priest, in order to give validity to his religious and spiritual acts. He did not dwell on these, as he had more important matter in view. These, indeed, were the occasion of great dissatisfaction and grief to the reformers, in the time of Elizabeth, as they were of mere human authority, and yet enjoined as equally important as the more plain and essential parts of religious worship. They were considered the remains of popish superstition ; and were approved or retained only by a *bare majority* of the bishops and clergy, in the time of Elizabeth, backed by the influence of the queen and her courtiers. Had Edward VI. lived a few years longer, the reformation in the church would probably have been complete. But during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I , every thing was arbitrarily conducted ; and all were required to conform to the ceremonies in the strictest manner, or were persecuted and punished. But the puritans contended for liberty of conscience in these things, keeping as closely as might be to the apostolic example and precedents.—In the account given by Rev. Mr. Higginson, who came to Salem in 1629, of their voyage, he says—'We performed divine service on the Lord's day, and other times ; and our worship was as sincere and edifying, as if we had said our prayers out of a *book.*'

That this course was proper, at the time when Dr. Mayhew engaged in the controversy, as well as at former periods,* is evident from the fact, that about the years 1761–63, the plan was revived and pressed on the British government, by the prelates, and by others both in England and America, of supporting bishops in the colonies, even in those then supplied with a learned clergy; and that there were then more episcopal missionaries in New-England, than at any former period. Add to which, the consideration of an arbitrary policy maturing for the political government of the people in the colonies; which it was acknowledged would be greatly aided by episcopalian clergymen, who would teach the inhabitants the *religious* duty of submission to the king and to the church.†

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* Among the proofs of a design of supporting bishops in America, in addition to those already noticed, many facts might be adduced. But I shall now refer only to the application of the ministers, wardens, and some members of the episcopal church in Boston, in 1713, to queen Anne; in which they 'pray her majesty to provide for the *spiritual wants* of her subjects in America, by establishing bishops and bishopricks within the colonies.' The applicants refer to a *plan*, then laid before the queen for this purpose, by the episcopalian society in England for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Here, then, is proof of such a design in 1713, and of the special request of the episcopal society for propagating the gospel in America, 'according to the liturgy of the church of England, and its peculiar modes and forms,' in favor of such a plan. And here also is proof—after all which was pretended by certain episcopalians in the colonies, and by some of the bishops in England, in the beginning and middle of the last century, that episcopacy was already (then) the *established* religion in all the British provinces—that it was not so; but application to the crown was necessary to have bishops supported here. The application was signed by communicants and others, in number between forty and fifty. Mr. Tailer, lieutenant-governor, was one; Sir Henry Franklyn, Thomas Lechmore, John Newdicate, Cyprian Southack, James Lydall, Francis Brinby, and Wentworth Paxton, were among them.

† Archbishop Laud, in 1630, (a man of a very ambitious, worldly, and arbitrary spirit,) was the most strenuous advocate for the 'divine right' and ghostly power of the bishops, over all other ministers or priests. Before his day of power and rule in the church, the presbyterian ordination of bishops had been considered valid; and in the more early time of the reformation from popery in England, in the reign of Henry VIII., a large convention of the clergy gave it as their opinion, that bishops and presbyters, in the apostolic and following ages, were the same, as to their rank and power in the church. But Laud introduced the most arbitrary power, both in the government of the church and of the state. The form, the mode, and the rite, were every thing; and the spirit of true piety and religion was nothing in his estimation. Under George III., soon after he came to the throne, this policy and spirit exhibited itself, in various ways, to the great alarm of the friends of civil and religious liberty.

Still, Dr. Mayhew was reluctant to engage any farther in this dispute; and permitted two notices of his 'Observations,' by way of strictures on his publication, without condescending to reply to them, as has been before stated. Indeed, they were not considered as worthy a formal answer. But the episcopalians boasted of the 'Candid Examination;' and it was deemed proper to notice it.

And there was one point assumed, or strongly urged in the 'Examination,' which was wholly unfounded; and on which Dr. Mayhew justly joined issue. It was asserted, that there was no established religion in any of the colonies, except the church of England; since colonial or provincial governments had no authority, without the consent and sanction of the king, to establish a religious system, nor any other, by law; and that episcopacy, being the established religion throughout the British dominions, it was, of course, and in effect, the only system known in law, in all the English colonies.

To this plausible argument, Dr. Mayhew replied, in the manner an able and intelligent politician probably would, and as most writers have done, who contended for the charter powers of the colonial governments; especially that of Massachusetts, which recognised the authority to regulate their internal concerns, and more particularly those of religion. Nor did he omit to state the views of the first and early settlers of New-England; who came to a new and distant country, for the sake of religion, at great cost and sacrifices: and who had the expectation and promise of not being in any way interrupted in their religious and ecclesiastical conduct, as they were in their native country. And he very justly concluded, that the congregational, or independent church government, was established by law, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, if not in the same sense and in the same manner episcopacy was in Great Britain—with tests and privations for all nonconformists—yet by the legislative authority; as all the towns in the said province and colony were required to settle and maintain learned and pious ministers.

Every intelligent and well informed Christian will admit, that much is left to the judgment of societies, as to the ecclesiastical government and to the forms of worship; with this qualification, that nothing adopted, beyond the express direction or the plain intimation of our Lord, or his inspired apostles, is binding on the consciences of men; and that no censure or disability should be incurred for nonconformity to merely human ordinances and decrees, in matters of ceremony or authority. This sentiment was approved and asserted by our Savior, when he was on earth, with reference to the assumptions and traditions of the Jewish priests. They professed to receive the laws of Moses as their guide in religion, but their traditions and interpretation were held equally obligatory; and these were often such as to render the word of God by Moses of no effect, as in the case of a child's duty to support a parent. And they taught, that the unwritten tradition from the elders was of equal authority with an express divine command. This was the great objection of protestants, and of the more early dissenters from the church of Rome, that ceremonies were decreed and powers assumed by their pope or bishop, and his priests, which the gospel did not authorize, and which they had no right to impose or to claim. And the evil tendency of such unauthorised claims, the history of that and of the English episcopal church fully proves. Assuming to have authority from Christ to govern the church, in his name, as they might please, the Romish hierarchy became not only arbitrary in its decrees, as to government and ceremonies, but being administered by fallible and wicked men, was oppressive, tyrannical and corrupt. So, also, though in a less degree perhaps, the church of England, in the time of Henry VIII., of Elizabeth, of James I., of Charles I. and II., was justly charged by our puritan ancestors, with an assumption of power in the church, not delegated by Christ or his apostles; and with imposing vain and idle ceremonies, to the neglect and injury of true piety; and to which, therefore, they could not submit with a clear conscience. And for their nonconformity, they were cruelly treated and persecuted. They considered many of the ceremonies not only vain, but burdensome; and the great inequality among the clergy as contrary to the spirit of the gospel and the example of the early Christians. Their allegiance to Christ would not allow them to submit to decrees and ordinances of human dictation; especially when directly encroaching on the liberty with which their divine Master had made them free. On this view of the subject, the difference is at once perceived between those episcopalians, who pretend that the bishops have a *divine right* to ordain priests, and to decree forms and articles for the adoption of all the disciples of Christ, and those who contend only for the *decency* and policy of having such ceremonies as the English church requires, and of different ranks among the clergy, as exist in that ecclesiastical establishment. The former opinion has now probably but few advocates; though two, and even one hundred years ago, many openly avowed and contended for it; but the latter policy, (much more common it may be at present,) with a semblance of liberality, is equally exclusive and inconsistent with christian liberty, as the former. For all who do not conform, though not directly persecuted, are excluded from all office in the church, and even denied communion, without some confessions and concessions, which many enlightened Christians cannot make.

It will therefore be evident, that Dr. Mayhew, and other conscientious men like him, who had studied, and who understood the nature of Christianity and the government and discipline of the primitive churches, acted on the defensive, when they opposed the high claims and the assumed authority of the English hierarchy, and controverted their pretended right to dictate, to control, and to decree, in all matters in the christian church. The alternative presented, was to submit to arbitrary, unreasonable, unscriptural, and, in some cases, expensive and ridiculous ceremonies; or to oppose, and to condemn them, and take the character of nonconformists. They chose the latter. And for this they were cruelly oppressed and persecuted; not only in their native country, but after they had settled in New England, at so great sacrifices, sufferings, and losses. The hierarchy in England, backed by the courtiers for political purposes, pursued them even here; and were continually aiming, for one hundred and fifty years, even to the period of the revolution, to have a superior, a controling power in matters of religion, and would have gradually gained it, by help of the civil power in the parent state, had not such men as Mayhew, Wigglesworth, Chauncy, Eliot, Hobart, and Stiles, boldly opposed their plans, and ably pleaded the cause of the congregational churches.

In opposing the principles and claims of the Romish church in the sixteenth century, the clergy of England generally admitted the equality of bishops, and presbyters, and insisted on scripture authority for all ceremonies in christian worship. They asserted the same principle which the puritans did afterward, near the close of that century and in the beginning of the seventeenth; but, in their practice, followed closely in the footsteps of the papists, by claiming a power to decree rites and forms in the church, and establishing different grades and ranks among the clergy, as by divine right, but unknown in the primitive societies of Christians. These high and unjust claims of the episcopal clergy to control and govern in the church, were even advanced, with respect to the puritans and dissenters, after they left the parent country, and sought an asylum for religious freedom and the enjoyments of the rights of conscience, in this western continent; to the same extent, and in like manner, as the civil power in Great Britian, assumed to direct in all political concerns. For while the latter asserted the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies in temporals, the former pretended that the church was established in all parts of the king's dominions, and that the decrees of the hierarchy, were binding on all British subjects. I say, *pretended*, for their ecclesiastical claims were never allowed; and were indeed, more odious, more opposed, and more directly denied than the claims of the king and parliament.

Strange as it may appear, when we recollect the views of the first settlers of New-England, which were entire self-government in religious concerns, and freedom from episcopal authority and dictation, it is an historical fact, that the bishops and the high church party in Great Britain, as late as the middle of last century, asserted that episcopacy might legally be considered the established religion in the colonies, because they formed a part of the British empire, and that form of christianity was part of the common law of the whole realm.

In the controversy, which took place in 1763, which Dr. Mayhew so ably conducted, in the behalf of the congregational churches in New-England, and in defence of the dissenting interest, it was expressly asserted, by the advocates of episcopacy—who then proposed to have bishops as well as missionaries, supported in the colonies—that the church of England was really the established and legal system here as well as in Great Britian ; while other forms of Christianity were only tolerated or permitted. This doctrine, favored alike by the hierarchy and the high-tory party in the parent country, was denied, indeed, by the congregational clergy, and the intelligent laity in New-England : it being pleaded, that the charters, especially that of Massachusetts, gave entire authority to the colonial government, in all religious concerns ; that if there was any exception to this position, it was only as to the prerogative of the crown, and not any right in parliament to interfere ; and that christian liberty being the sole or chief motive for planting the colony, it would be absurd, as well as unjust, for any power in Great Britain, whether civil or ecclesiastical, to attempt to control or direct in the subject of religion.

And when it was pretended, in order to justify the exercise of episcopal authority here, that the common law of England extended to and over plantations—since episcopacy was the established religion there—and without previously intending it, the question was agitated, whether the English common law was necessarily in force in the colonies, or any farther than expressly recognized and adopted by their legislative assemblies ; or, at least, whether colonial legislatures had not the right to ordain, that what was the common law in the parent state should not be so here, without obtaining the assent of the British government to such alteration. In religious concerns, this seems to have been admitted ; and according to the 'fundamentals' of Massachusetts, compared to the English common law, it appears, that in many instances, the legislative authority annulled or altered it, making it more mild, more equitable, and more consonant to the character and views of the community here.* One instance was this, that the common law in England forgave a man for the crime of theft, a capital offence by the statute, if he could read the scriptures, which was originally called 'benefit of the clergy,' and was so altered, as that theft did not make one liable to a capital punishment, but to such as the scriptures imposed.

Though it was pretended, by some of the episcopalians, in the dispute with Dr. Mayhew—and there were several who wrote with a view to disprove his positions, or to invalidate his arguments—that episcopacy was the established religion in the colonies; this doctrine was denied both by the clergy and laity in New-England, from the nature and design of the settlement, and the character and views of the emigrants, whose sole object was to be rid of the ecclesiastical restraints and impositions, and the rites and forms of the established church in their native country; from the large and full powers vested in the Massachusetts company by their charter; and from the uniform practice for more than a century, from 1630 to 1760, which was on the admission of a right to regulate and direct in all the concerns of religion, without control or interference from the parent government. As to the authority of parliament over the colonies, in so far as related to the forms of religion and modes of worship, this was the fact; and as to the power of the crown, to which allegiance was admitted to be due, this was attempted to be exercised in and over the colonies, respecting religion, in few cases, and that by recommendation not to persecute those of different sects. It was a royal signification to tolerate quakers, baptists, and especially episcopalians. But there is no evidence that the king ever claimed a right to extend the laws of England, in ecclesiastical and religious concerns, to the people in the colonies; to decree or dictate modes of worship here; or asserted the church establishment in England to be in force, or to extend to America. And any such claim or attempt would have been directly repugnant to the great design of the colonizing of New-England, and the avowed purposes of the first settlers. When the quakers were persecuted, and the few episcopalians complained of not having due freedom in their forms of worship, Charles II. recommended, or signified it to be his pleasure, that the former should not be put to death, but banished, if they continued irregular and turbulent, and sharp laws be made against them; that those who preferred it, might be permitted to use episcopal forms of worship; and that all who desired it, might be received to the sacrament and into the church. The government of Massachusetts was wise and just enough to cease inflicting capital punishment on quakers, and to allow of episcopal forms in religious worship; but they declined to admit into the church all such as desired it, or as the king had signified to be his pleasure; and said, that must be left to the judgment and decision of the churches, or a synod. A great question hence arose, which seems not to have been settled; a question as to the extent of powers in the colonial legislature for self-government, and the authority of the British parliament over the subjects in this country. And this involved the particular inquiry, whether the common law of England—for the ecclesiastical establishment was a part of the English common law—was in force in and over the British colonies in America. The question seems not to have been fully settled, so as to be acquiesced in; though the opinions of legal characters and the precedents are in favor of the affirmative, with this limit or qualification, that the colonial legislatures were competent to alter or abrogate the common law of England, within their respective jurisdictions; which, as has been already stated, they frequently did.* As to what is proper and constitutional, in this respect, since the independence of these States, it is not presumed to express an opinion.

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* 'Our government is framed according to our CHARTER and the *fundamental* and *common laws* of England, and carried on according to the same, (taking the words of *eternal truth and righteousness* along with them,) with such allowance for the difference between an ancient, populous and wealthy kingdom, and an infant, thin colony, as common reason suggests and requires.'

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* The laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for the due observance of the Lord's day, and prohibiting all sports, plays, &c., were directly repugnant to the laws or orders in England, at that time. And so far as there was an establishment of religion by law in the colony, it was not for episcopal forms, but against them, and in favor of the congregational system.

It may be proper concisely to state the leading points in the 'Candid Examination' of Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations.' Some parts of these strictures are very plausible, and calculated to have an effect with those who had not read Mayhew's remarks on the conduct of the society; for the writer (or writers) displayed a good deal of the art, *ad captandum vulgus.*

After giving some reasons that an answer to Dr. Mayhew had not sooner appeared, which are of little weight, and which go rather to show the difficulty of making any answer—for if the 'Observations' had been destitute of argument and force, it would have been easy for Mr. Apthorp, or some other episcopalian, to have made a reply in one month, instead of five—he says, he should not confine himself to the objections of Dr. Mayhew; and he then asserts, that the Dr. had brought against the venerable society, composed chiefly of bishops of the English church, the charge of knowingly and wilfully violating their charter, a charge which could not possibly be admitted, considering their high and sacred character. But in this, the Examiner asserted more than Dr. Mayhew had charged. The latter had stated what was the original object and design of the society, according to its charter; and showed that it had not lately kept to it; but had misapplied its funds, in various instances, probably on *account of misstatements of its missionaries in New-England.* His principal charge against the society was, not obtaining full and correct information of the state of religion in the province, and being governed entirely by relations of interested persons. And this position, it was generally admitted, he had abundantly supported and confirmed. Dr. Mayhew had not accused the society of knowingly and designedly violating the provisions of its charter; but of the impropriety of its conduct, through the incorrect accounts of others. But the Examiner insisted, that if the society had done wrong in any cases, in applying its funds and in supporting its missionaries, it must have done so knowingly and wilfully. This was a great reflection on the integrity and correctness of the venerable society, made by its advocate and friend, if not one of its missionaries at the time; for Dr. Mayhew had fully shown, that there had long been a great departure by the society, from its original and express design, in sending missionaries into old and populous places in New-England, and at a great expense, where learned ministers of the gospel were already settled; but which he supposed they had done in most or all cases through the advice of the missionaries, or other episcopalians here, who were desirous of having their ministers from England, and of increasing the number of their then very small churches. His remarks were indeed severe; and, if well founded—as in most instances he adduced facts, and relied on reports in very few cases—implicated the fairness and truth of the statement often made to the society in England, by its missionaries.

The writers of the 'Candid Examination,' asserted that the term '*orthodox,*' as used in the charter of the society, by king William, in 1704, intended and implied episcopalian; and that none were orthodox but those of the church of England, by law established. It had been justly supposed, by Dr. Mayhew, that the term had reference rather to doctrinal articles, than to ecclesiastical government or forms. Why the authors of the 'Candid Examination' of Dr. Mayhew should insist on this, was evidently for the purpose of having it believed that presbyterian ordination was not valid, and therefore none but such as had received episcopal ordination were proper ministers of the gospel; and hence inferring that the society had a right to send their clergy any where and every where, except in places having an episcopal minister.

This strange and unscriptural opinion had never before been so fully and openly asserted in New-England; and yet it is a legitimate doctrine of the episcopal church. Whether it were from tenderness, from a regard to the peace of the New-England churches, and a conciliating and truly christian spirit in episcopalians, that this position had not been advanced and advocated more openly, before this period; or whether from a secret belief that the divine right of bishops could not be proved from scripture, nor apostolic records, and that the great power claimed by bishops was a matter of expediency, or of human policy only; might be justly made a question. But this is not the place to enter largely into the inquiry. It has, indeed, long been settled by the *unani-*

mous opinion of impartial, disinterested men, who make the sacred scriptures their only oracle in religion, as well episcopalians as dissenters from the church of England, that the *divine* right of bishops rests on a fiction of the *canon* law; and that the ministers of Christ are entirely equal in authority. The term *orthodox,* then, cannot refer to those of the church of England, except in the view of a narrow-minded and bigoted episcopalian.

The authors of the 'Candid Examination' asserted another doctrine, in opposition to the opinion which had been advanced by Dr. Mayhew, that the church of England, (with all its peculiar forms and ceremonies,) had long been, and was the *established* religion in the colonies. If episcopacy they said was by law the established religion in the kingdom of Great Britain, and the colonies being under the government, the parliament, and the laws of Britain, (if not strictly within the realms,) it must be concluded, the people in New-England were within the pale of the English church, and that episcopacy was the only religion known to the laws. To such a doctrine or claim, the people in New-England were not at all prepared to submit or consent. The claim of toleration was all they had before known openly asserted; though the tyrant Andros had asserted such a power before he was banished from Massachusetts; and though the bishop of London, about the year 1720, or 1725, pretended his diocese included New-England. Dr. Mayhew had asserted that the congregational form was the only one required by the laws of the province; and these requiring a learned, orthodox clergy, (without any reference to episcopalians,) he concluded, that so far as there was any religion established by law, it was that of the congregational churches. The various laws of the colony and of the province, on the subject, had, from the first settlement to his day, required ministers of the gospel to be supported in all the towns, which were expressly designated or evidently implied to be of the congregational order. For this was one great cause of separating from the established church of England, that it required different grades and ranks of religious teachers or rulers, and imposed forms and rites not according to scripture. And it was an essential part of their ecclesiastical theory, that the ministers of Christ were of 'equal power' in the churches. The parliament of Great Britain never did attempt to legislate for the people in New-England, in ecclesiastical and religious concerns; for they knew they could not do it without invading the power granted and secured by their charters. Nor did the crown, to which allegiance was, in some sense and measure, allowed, endeavor to direct and control in the affairs of the church government, except to declare his pleasure against the severe persecutions of quakers, and for forbearance and toleration towards his *good* subjects, the episcopalians. But it is quite unnecessary to dwell on this point; especially after the remarks made, a few pages back, as to an established religion in the colonies.

It was also asserted in the 'Examination,' that, excepting the people of Plymouth colony, who are called rigid separatists and schismatics, the first settlers of New-England, as Winthrop and his company, some of whom soon moved to Connecticut, were episcopalians, or true children of the church of England. And this is said merely because, when they left England, they desired the prayers of their pious friends left behind, and many of whom had not separated from the established church, and were warm advocates for greater reforms and more purity of worship and discipline. It was pretended, that this letter was addressed to bishops and others of the adhering high-church party, and desired their prayers, as bishops, &c. This was entirely a misrepresentation or mistake. In such learned men as Dr. Johnson, Dr. Cutler, and Dr. Caner, it must have been the former. For they *could not but have known*, that those who settled Massachusetts and Connecticut, were strenuous puritans or reformers in the church; that most of them had been cruelly persecuted for not conforming to the episcopal modes and rules; that they were essentially of the same sentiments with Rev. Mr. Robinson and his church, as to discarding all authority in religious concerns, except that of Christ and his inspired apostles; and that, ever after their arrival in America, they laid aside all episcopalian rites, formed churches with powers of self-government, and even, in some cases, re-ordained the clergy, and especially denied the necessity of episcopal ordination.

This was truly a strange and unexpected statement from learned theologians in 1763. The design must have been to mislead and deceive the ignorant. The well-informed in the community could not have been imposed on by such a representation.

The writers of the 'Candid Examination,' express their great surprise, as well as sorrow, that the orthodox* clergy in Boston and vicinity, should be pleased with Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' as he was not of the calvinistic party; and that they had even passed a vote of thanks to him. They address the prejudices of the orthodox clergy, at great length and with great earnestness, conjuring them not to support a man who 'was laboring, from the pulpit and the press, to demolish the doctrines of their *pious* forefathers, which were long known and received as the true doctrines of *grace;* and endeavoring thus to destroy the fundamentals of their faith.' The clergy of Boston and Massachusetts were charged, 'to have thus shown themselves *ashamed* of Christ and of his truths;' 'a far greater sin than to favor or support episcopacy!'

The pamphlet concludes with a short prayer, of this purport; that we might *all* perceive what is the truth, and adhere to it. But the prayer is expressed, as the writer says, 'in the *very words of the liturgy of the church of England.*' Probably he thought the sentiment would not have been correct, nor the prayer available, in any other form of expression than that used in the liturgy, or some other book of the church of England.

Appended to the 'Candid Examination' was a letter, designed to vindicate the society of episcopalians in England for propagating the gospel, against the objections, mistakes, &c., of Dr. Mayhew; which Rev. Mr. Hobart, of Connecticut, says, was written by Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, in that state; and who had been supposed by some persons, to have assisted in preparing the pamphlet just noticed. The writer claims to be a member of the society in England;

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* Yet not episcopalian—though it had been before contended none were truly orthodox but those of the church of England.

and Dr. Johnson was then a member of that society, and very many others were so. He was at that time seventy years of age ; and the writer apologizes for inaccuracies, on account of advanced age and other infirmities.

The first supposed error of Dr. Mayhew, as the writer states, is that he represents the society's great object to convert congregationalists and presbyterians to episcopacy, to the neglect of the Indian tribes and new settlements destitute of the means of religion. Without denying that such was *often* the case, though he does not admit it had been the *chief* object, he replies, by saying, that this conduct of the society would be with much more reason and justice, than that of *dissenters* had been from the beginning, in withdrawing from episcopacy, and using their endeavors to disaffect others to the established church. 'Every *good churchman*, however, must rejoice,' he continues, 'when our wandering brethren, who had been drawn away from the *bosom* of the church, or brought up with prejudices against it, are reclaimed, and return to the *unity* of the church. But the society was not designed for that purpose ; and few instances, I believe, can be produced, of missionaries *beginning* with dissenters, to convert them.' Dr. Mayhew had stated many cases, where there were direct or indirect efforts made to bring congregationalists to the episcopal churches. The letter-writer says, 'We have been treated with great obloquy by the dissenters, in representing us as little better than Roman Catholics. On these occasions we have defended ourselves as well as we could ;* and, by so doing, have probably brought some persons over to our faith and communion; especially when they have seen our *beautiful* service.'

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* Precious confession ! 'As well as we could !' The episcopalians always found it *hard work* to defend themselves from the charge of differing very little from the papists. The most they can do is to *complain* of such a charge. All the wise and sincere reformers from the Romish church, in 1550, and for a long period after, contended for further reforms, as to the different ranks and power of the clergy, and the rites and forms adopted by episcopalians under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth : and hence the origin of the puritans and other dissenters from the established church. The charge against the high-church party, who asserted the *divine* right of bishops, and their superior spiritual power, their authority to decree articles of faith, or forms of worship, not plainly agreeable to scripture or apostolic example, and who retained much of the ritual of the Romish church, was early made and repeated, and has never been fully answered, but only *as well as it could be*. And while the church of England remains as it is, it must be content to be considered as being the image, though not *identical* with the church of Rome.

Dr. Johnson admits, in this letter of 'vindication' of the society's conduct, that, in 1720, and about that period, when episcopal missionaries were first supported in New-England, there were here very few real members of the church of England; but he says, they had increased since, and needed ministers of their own denomination. But he does not show, as he ought if he could, that people had not been induced to attend that church, from interested motives; nor that missionaries were supported in some towns, where they had only eight, five, or even two families of the church of England. This was an important point: for, in supporting episcopal ministers in old towns in New-England, and for a very few hearers, the funds of the society were misapplied and diverted from the true design, which was, sending teachers of religion to the Indians, and others destitute of the means of grace.

The writer of this letter supposes, that the extravagant conduct of Whitefield, and of his fanatical followers, had alarmed the sober part of the people, some of whom took *shelter* in the church. The wild and fanatical conduct of Whitefield, and others like him, were as much opposed by Dr. Mayhew, and the sober and rational ministers in New-England, of the congregational order—and there were not a few of these—as by any churchmen of that day; and the writings of Chauncy, Wigglesworth, Mayhew, and others, pointing out their errors and extravagances, had a great effect in preventing the spreading of a spirit of fanaticism. But the episcopalian clergy were silent. Perhaps they liked to see the divisions and contentions, in the hope that many would thus be led to seek for repose in the bosom of their church. But free inquiry on religious subjects, and freedom in adopting modes of faith and worship, attended as they always will be with some extravagances and errors, is a far better state for the cause of truth, than mental thraldom, where the door is closed against all investigation, and all improvement.

Near the close of the letter, Dr. Johnson breaks out into the following exclamation:—'But, O my country! dear New-England! suffer me to assure you, that you have infinitely more reason to be afraid of those who are no friends to the doctrine of a co-essential trinity, and the divinity and satisfaction of Christ, than of those who are the friends of the church of England!'

Soon after the pamphlet and letter above alluded to appeared, Dr. Mayhew published a reply, to the first chiefly, thinking it sufficient, no doubt, to take but a passing notice of the latter. This he called 'A Defence of his Observations.' He complains, that these tracts were anonymous; and that they contained much that was merely personal, much irrelevant, and somewhat which was low and scurrilous. Dr. Mayhew passed over, with a cursory remark, the attacks of a personal nature, as unworthy of his notice; and he also concisely referred to the merits of the general question, between episcopalians and dissenters, as to which was most agreeable to scripture and to apostolic times. In his reply to Mr. Apthorp, he had considered it proper to go into that subject; but, that it was unnecessary to dwell on it, as the only important point in the controversy was, whether the society had misapplied its funds, in supporting missionaries in the old towns in New-England, where a learned and pious clergy were already settled.

Dr. Mayhew first takes notice of the assertion of the Examiner, that he (Dr. M.) had charged the society with a wilful and designed violation of the charter—which, he says, is not supported by his former remarks; for he had stated expressly that the society were misinformed by their missionaries and others in America, and had thus applied a part of their funds where they ought not; but he had only blamed the society for their conduct before obtaining more correct information.

A large part of Dr. Mayhew's defence is occupied with remarks as to the true meaning and intent of the charter of the episcopal society in Great Britain for propagating the gospel in foreign parts; and endeavors to show, that it does not warrant the construction put upon it by the Examiner, nor by Mr. Apthorp; but the main and brief design was to teach the gospel to the Indian tribes within the British provinces, and in new and small plantations destitute of, and unable to support, a minister for themselves. And this was important to the argument. The Examiner did not, indeed, deny that it was *part* of the duty to send ministers to the savages; but so construed the charter, as to leave it at the discretion of the society, to place missionaries wherever they chose in the provinces; which was manifestly not the meaning of the charter, and was the very conduct complained of by Dr. Mayhew.

Dr. Mayhew next proceeds to show, that congregationalism was, in effect, the form of religion established in the province; which the Examiner had denied. But it is unnecessary to give his arguments or remarks at length, on this point. He asserts this from several considerations, viz., the power given in the colonial charter, 'to dispose of matters and things, whereby the said inhabitants may be *religiously*, peaceably and civilly governed;' various enactments on the subject, and particularly the preamble of the province law of 1742, which is as follows:—'Whereas the professed members of the *church of England* have complained that they are unreasonably taxed for the support of divine worship, in the manner *established by the laws* of this province,' &c.

'The Examiner charges me,' says Dr. Mayhew, 'with exciting the people to persecute the church of England, and to exclude them from the common rights and privileges of citizens; which is entirely false. Yet I am free to own, that I expressed my fears, if all office and power here should fall into the hands of churchmen, which some seem desirous of; and I also think it would be infatuation in the people, to favor those with their votes, who are bigots to the church of England; since the latter despise all nonconformists, and desire to deprive them of their ancient privileges and rights. This would be putting a sword into the hands of our enemies.'

The candid Examiner, as well as the other writers who noticed Dr. Mayhew's pamphlet, referred to his supposed want of orthodoxy, and charged him with departing from the creed of the puritans, the early settlers of New-England. This, they represented as a great inconsistency in him, while he was pleading for the church government and discipline, which they adopted. He replied to this charge, and observed, that their views of church government might be correct and scriptural, while some parts of their theological creed was erroneous. He acknowledged that he differed from them in some points of speculative theology, but not so much as had been pretended by those who were very rigid calvinists. And he adroitly made the charge of insincerity and hypocrisy, as well as of inconsistency, in the episcopal clergy, who were then generally arminians or anti-calvinistic, though they subscribed and often re-subscribed the thirty-nine articles, which were confessedly calvinistic. Most of the clergy of the church of England, were justly liable to this charge. But for the sake of preferment, they professed to believe in the articles, when their preaching was contrary to them.*

Through several pages, Dr. Mayhew discusses the question, whether the laws of England extended over the colonies in all cases, or only in those expressly referring to America, or such of an older date, and as the colonial legislatures adopted. The Examiner insisted so much on the church

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*Dr. John Disney, who was several years a clergyman of the church of England, who lived in the latter part of the last, and first of the present century, and was sometime a colleague with Mr. Lindsey, made the following declaration, on resigning his standing in the church :—'I believe that several doctrines received by the church as true, are contrary to the word of God. With this conviction, I could not hesitate to determine never to accept any further preferment in the established church ; because I could not, conscientiously, and without equivocation, declare my assent and consent to the thirty-nine articles and liturgy, as by law required. And to this determination I have steadily adhered more than once, when offers of preferment were made me, in all other respects desirable, and advantageous to my secular interests. For some years I did not apprehend that my convictions would carry me any farther. In this supposition, however, I have been mistaken. And the same principles and reasons, which have heretofore made me decline to *repeat* my subscription, have forced me to make a *resignation* of my benefices, and of all advantages I had acquired on such terms. I am thankful now, and I trust I shall always be so, whatever may be the event, as to this world, that I have been brought out of a situation, in which I went on, from day to day, condemning myself; and that it has pleased divine providence to lead me to a situation where I may still bear testimony of the truth and holiness of the gospel, and have the satisfaction of being united to a society of Christians, where prayer is avowedly made to the only true God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and where I shall still have more cause to be thankful, if my labors are successful, in being instrumental of promoting his sole worship, and at the same time serve the great end of the gospel, in exciting myself and others to piety and all virtue.'

of England being the established religion in New-England, merely because they were English colonies, that he probably thought it proper to refer again more fully to the subject. He supposed both the statutes and common law of England, were of force only on express recognition by the legislatures in the colonies; or, at least, that in most cases they exercised a power in altering an English law, to suit the condition of the colony here. And it will be found that, in various instances, though they were restricted as to passing laws repugnant to those in England, they did make new laws; especially as to the penalty for theft and some other crimes. And in religious concerns, the colony laws were different from and at variance with statutes of the parliament of England, and the canon law, in almost all cases; and the laws of the British government not recognized nor regarded at all. Nor was this conduct of the colonial government complained of, as opposing the laws of England, in the sense of the restrictive clause alone referred to, till the time of Charles II., when the royal authority was extended over Massachusetts, in religious proceedings; which was submitted to in some cases, and in some declined. At a much later period, similar claims were advanced, through the particular influence of the prelates, but favored by the government, with the view of exercising a full civil power over the colonies. This claim was kept up in England, till the revolution of 1775; and had a great influence in the alarm spread through the colonies, of the arbitrary designs of the parent country. That the church of England was not the established religion in Massachusetts, nor so pretended, but that the congregational church was, Dr. Mayhew supposes to be evident from a law of the province in 1742; by which episcopalians, who had been previously taxed for the support of teachers of religion of the congregational or presbyterian order, unless excused by some express clause or provision, were exempted from paying taxes for maintaining the clergy, but of their own denomination. He justly infers, that such a state of things, such a law, and such a favorable provision, at that late period, could not have existed, if the church of England was the established religion in the province, and episcopalians had the control in regulating and governing in church affairs;

and if, indeed, congregational forms were not considered legal, and the government here had not just right and authority to provide for their support and continuance.

Dr. Mayhew thought it proper to notice the personal attacks made on him by his *candid* and *ingenuous* Examiner. 'He has represented me as inimical to the government under which I live, and says I am an *enemy* to all kings—and this because I spoke of some kings as tyrants, and even some who had formerly sat on the British throne. He has also ransacked my sermons and other writings, and picked out scraps of sentences and parts of expressions, leaving other parts and following sentences, which explain and qualify the meaning; and thus given to my composition a harshness and tone altogether unjustifiable. If he were to take the same liberty with the writings of Dr. Tillotson, or even St. Paul, he might find detached expressions, which would have the appearance of great harshness and severity. But I repeat, I had a right to speak of an hierarchy, resembling that of the Romish church, where one great prelate presides—of one of the kings of England, who was wheedled and duped to his destruction, by the furious episcopal zeal of that day—of the persecuting, anti-christian spirit of many prelates, before the revolution of 1688—of lordly bishops, and of their poor underlings, the former having twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, and the latter but nine or ten.

'I have also said, I believe truly that some bishops are ambitious, worldly, imperious, and have displayed a persecuting spirit, as Laud and others; for it was believed, that their claiming to act by divine right, seeking temporal power, spending a great portion of time in civil affairs, as members of the house of peers, and neglecting the spiritual welfare of their flock, (except having the oversight of it, without taking due care of it,) prove it. My *candid* Examiner particularly refers to severe expressions in my sermon on the 30th of January, 1750, on the death of king Charles I. But great provocation was given, at that time and before, to speak plainly on the subject. Some of the episcopal clergy here, on that occasion, asserted the *divine* right, both of kings and of bishops, and advanced doctrines and principles, directly opposed to those of the revolution, in 1688. And was not this some apology for me, if not a full justification with all true *candid* men? It is said, the episcopal clergy, have since preached in a more moderate strain and tone on these subjects; and which some *candid* persons attribute to that sermon. I should rejoice to think it had done some good; and I cannot but think, also, that they are obliged to me, for the little share I have had in keeping them from *exposing* themselves, in the way some of them used to do.

'It is a stale art of bigots and party men, to represent those who appear in opposition to their designs, as deists, or heretics at best;* as denying the essential, fundamental doctrines of Christianity, &c., in order to destroy their influence, and to inflame the unenlightened zeal of the multitude against them. Whether this *candid* gentleman has, or has not made use of this art, in a manner hardly to be paralleled, shall be submitted to the judgment of the reader, when I have produced the proofs of it, under his own hands. He says, (speaking of the pilgrim fathers,)—'Could Dr. Mayhew have mentioned those good fathers without blushing, if he had reflected how widely he has departed from the faith which these good men professed, and that as to the *most essential* doctrines of Christianity? Or must we take his appeals or harrangues of this kind to be mere grimace, or rather a design calculated, *ad captum vulgi*, to raise a ferment in the minds of people, who cannot help retaining, and that very justly, a value for the memory of their progenitors? Whatever their notions of liberty, or purity of religion amounted to, they certainly had no great opinion of the *learned Socinus*. They entertained those *orthodox* opinions, at least concerning the divinity of the Son of God, which the Doctor has treated in so bold, as well as ludicrous a manner; and had he lived in their days, he must either have enlarged his creed, or felt the effects of their HONEST RESENTMENT. But though he has no right to take shelter under the merit of those good men—since he is departed from that purity of faith, *whatever it was,* which they professed, as far as darkness is from light—yet,' &c. As this seemed to be one of the most labored passages in his libel, I was willing he should have the credit of it, by quoting it thus at large. As to myself, I am at a loss whether it most merits contempt or indignation, ridicule or grave censure. There may, therefore, perhaps, be a mixture of them all in the following remarks upon it.

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* The *candid* Examiner descended to low and vulgar reflections, with a design to excite the prejudices of the ignorant and bigotted against Dr. Mayhew; representing him as an impious heretic; as having departed from the creed of the puritan fathers, and from the essential doctrines of the gospel.

'I have never been backward to own, that my religious sentiments are, in some respects, different from those of the generality of our forefathers. Much less did I ever swear to subscribe, or profess to believe all their opinions; so that, in this respect at least, the episcopalian clergy cannot justly accuse me of hypocrisy. Much less did I ever think of taking shelter under the merit of those good men; never having imagined that I stood in need of any other merits besides those of my Redeemer.

'But the Examiner, in this page, so full of christian candor and benevolence, has represented my religious sentiments as much more different from those of our good fathers, than they really are. Of this I am certainly a better judge than he can possibly be; since I best know what my own sentiments are. 'How widely he has departed from the faith which these good men professed'—'as far as darkness is from light'—'and that as to the most essential doctrines of Christianity.' What more could he have said, if I had been a professed Roman Catholic—I had almost said, a Mahometan? Does this man, or do many others, well consider what they say, when they so freely charge others with denying the essential doctrines of the gospel? Who told them that the doctrines which they often speak thus of, even supposing them true, are essential? Is not this equivalent to saying, that they who deny them are no Christians, though they profess a sincere regard to Jesus Christ as the Savior of the world, and to the holy scriptures as a revelation from God? Do they consider, that this judging and setting at naught their brethren, is expressly prohibited by our common Lord? Do they consider, that there are hard speeches against men, as well as against God, that must hereafter be accounted for? I wish some people who may mean better, perhaps, than my Examiner does, would more seriously consider the consequences of talking at this rate, than they seem to do.

'What our pious forefathers considered as the most essential branches of Christianity, may doubtless be learnt in part from the first church covenant used in the Massachusetts bay colony; viz., at Salem, and I think afterwards in some other churches.* Now if I were a friend to subscriptions, I declare I could, with the utmost freedom, both with heart and hand, subscribe this covenant. Let the reader, then, who believes me sincere in this protestation, (as those that know me best, will,) judge whether I am justly accused of departing from the most essential doctrines of the gospel, which our said fathers held, 'as far as darkness is from light!' Happy had it probably been for New-England, if no narrower or more divisive church covenants had been seen among us.

'But there are some more particular insinuations and assertions here, and in other parts of this defamatory pamphlet, in order to show how widely I differ from our good forefathers. It is intimated that I am a Socinian:—'Whatever their notions of liberty amounted to, they certainly had no great opinion of the learned Socinus.' Here this censor alludes to a passage in one of my sermons on christian sobriety, in which I speak of Socinus under that character—learned. Will this *candid* man, then, allow none to be even learned, unless they are Athanasians? It were somewhat hard to deny them all the reputation of learning, in this world. Is it not enough, for charitable and meek Christians, solemnly to declare, that they shall without doubt perish everlastingly? But the candor of my Examiner is here the more observable, because in the very passage where I speak of Socinus as a learned man, I introduce him on purpose to intimate my dislike of his most distinguishing opinions; as I did expressly, without giving the least intimation that I approved any one of them, as I never did. What if the reader should here a little 'indulge his astonishment' at the candor and modesty of this man? To use his own language, could he write thus 'without blushing?' Truly, by the spirit that runs through his pamphlet, I almost believe he could, though it is probable there are not many other persons in the world, who have got so far beyond that childish infirmity.

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* The covenant of the Plymouth church was, in general terms, like that of Salem.

'He goes on:—'They entertained those *orthodox* opinions, at least concerning the divinity of the Son of God, which Dr. Mayhew has treated in so bold as well as ludicrous a manner.' That I ever denied, or treated in a bold or ludicrous manner, the divinity of the Son of God, as revealed in scripture, I absolutely deny. My soul loves and adores him. Of his great salvation, I have a good hope, through grace; more prized by me than many, than all worlds. And I have made it my serious endeavor to preach his unsearchable riches, according to the scriptures of truth, without pretending to be wise above what is written. I have, indeed, expressed my disbelief, and even *contempt*, of certain metaphysical and scholastic, unscriptural and ridiculous, definitions or explications of the trinity, which some men have given. This is all he can make of those places in my sermons, to which he has had the assurance to refer the reader, without quoting a syllable of them. He hoped, no doubt, that his word would be taken, on account of the formality of a marginal reference. But in some of these very passages, the true scriptural account of Christ's divinity, is asserted and proved. But this is the practice of some men. With them, rejecting mere human inventions and refinements, respecting the doctrines of scripture, is the same thing with denying scripture doctrines themselves.

'But this is not the only specimen which this writer has given, of his candor towards me, with respect to doctrinal points. In his flaming apostrophe to the ministers of Boston, (who, as he was informed, had thanked me for the Observations,) he accuses me of 'attempts to undermine the fundamental principles of their faith'—'those essential doctrines'—'the doctrines of grace'—'destroying the fundamental principles of their faith'—and 'undermining the dignity and divinity of the Son of God.' I am also said to 'deny and ridicule the doctrine of justification by faith'—to 'discard the notion of original sin'—and to 'brand the notion of imputed righteousness with the reproach of nonsense.'

And he insults the said reverend gentlemen, as not having 'the courage to rise up in defence of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the truth of his gospel,' in opposition to me. These are heavy charges. Concerning all which, as they respect myself, I protest, before God and the world, that they are absolute falsehoods. Nor has he produced a single sentence from any of my writings, to support any one of them; which he knew was not in his power. He has, indeed, had the confidence to refer in the margin, to some of my sermons, to render his groundless accusations the more plausible; hoping his word would be taken. But whoever will be at the pains to turn to these passages, will find the whole amount of them to be this, that I explode certain wrong and unscriptural explanations of those doctrines; some of them tending to licentiousness; while I not only allow, but assert and prove the doctrines, in a sober, scriptural sense. What an iniquitous artifice is this, to bring such general charges without quotations; and without making any distinction betwixt the doctrines of scripture in general, and unscriptural refinements upon them! I appeal to God and the world, nay, to the conscience of this virulent accuser himself, if it is not such an one as we read of in one of St. Paul's epistles, (I. Tim. iv. 2.)

'But he goes still further; intimating his suspicions that I am a deist. 'The Doctor's reflection upon the Song of Solomon, is sufficient to show how easy it is for him to discard the sacred canon of scripture itself: or perhaps'— &c. But he dared not to cite that reflection, as he calls it. The most that can be fairly and logically inferred from it, is that I supposed there was near as much reason for admitting the Wisdom, as the Song of Solomon, into the canon—a very harmless supposition, even though it should be a mistake—and which does not imply the latter to be admitted without reason. He had before intimated, that there was ground to 'suppose that I deceive myself, when I profess a regard for divine revelation.' Behold his candor! He also makes a great outcry, because I somewhere said, that certain passages of scripture seemed 'at first view' to countenance the doctrine of annihilation. 'This,' says he, 'will be greedily catched at by those who have lived in such a manner, as to have no better hope in their death.' This and several other passages, certainly have a threatening aspect upon the religion of Jesus Christ.' Now, if I had any reason to think him sincere in all this, I should think myself bound, as a Christian, to give him a particular answer. At present I shall only observe, that if he had had enough of the charitable spirit of that religion, for which he expresses so great a concern; or if he had but duly meditated upon the eternity of those torments, which he supposes struck at by me, before he began to write; he would probably have spared some of his railing accusations, and palpable falsehoods; and made that candor which he professes, a little more conspicuous to his readers.

'This *candid* writer intimates his suspicions, also, that whatever esteem and veneration I professed for our good fathers, is 'mere *grimace*, or rather a design calculated, *ad captum vulgi*, to raise a ferment in the minds of the people,' &c. But where is the candor of this? May I not consistently have an high regard for their memory, though I do not in every respect embrace their opinions? I am certain I have; and it is in the nature of things impossible for him to know the contrary. Nay, does not he himself profess a great esteem of them, notwithstanding the wide difference betwixt them and him?—much wider, without doubt, than betwixt them and me. I should not fear to lay myself under bonds, in a considerable sum, that this man, so full of evil surmisings and perverse disputings, would be known to disagree more with them, much more upon the whole, than I do, if he were not so very *modest* as to conceal his name. But who can blame a man for this precaution, if he writes in such a manner as to expose himself to universal contempt or indignation, if he were known?

'I am much mistaken if this *candid* man, this enemy to religious persecution, did not desire something farther than merely to render me odious, by one stroke in the aforesaid passage: for, immediately after representing me as a Socinian, and one who had ridiculed the 'deity of the Son of God,' he says, that, had I lived in the days of our pious fathers, I 'must either have enlarged my creed, or felt the effects of their honest resentment.' Let the reader compare this with what he elsewhere says of my principles, particularly in his fiery address to the ministers of Boston; and then judge, whether it would fully satisfy this meek Christian, to have me universally abhorred.

'With how great advantage might I retort upon him a suspicion, that whatever he has said in honor of our fathers 'is mere grimace,' 'a design calculated, *ad captum vulgi*, to raise a ferment in the minds of the people,' &c. For let the circumstances be considered. I had written against the conduct of the society, expressed my dislike of the episcopal church, and my hopes that it would not prevail here. It also plainly appears, particularly by the furious apostrophe aforesaid, that he was apprehensive what I wrote either had or was likely to have some influence, in keeping people steady to their old congregational principles. Now, to take the Examiner in his own way, may it not be suspected that all his pretensions of respect to the memory of our fathers, are 'mere grimace—*ad captum vulgi*;' and *ad captum* of our magistrates and ministers also, as well as of the common people? May it not be suspected, that, with the like pious and ecclesiastical design, he endeavors to raise a universal ferment and clamor against me, as a Socinian or deist; a man who has departed as far from our father's pure faith, 'as darkness is from light,' &c. What more likely method than this, to keep people from paying any regard to what I said, or might say, respecting the church? And how much might it contribute to conciliate their affections to her, as their dear mother, to find one of her sons speaking so respectfully of their progenitors? What could have a more promising tendency to make them return into her bosom, than to sow the seeds of greater divisions and animosities among us, particularly among our ministers, than any that before subsisted? What a glorious harvest might the church expect to reap, could they be engaged in a public quarrel! Did we never hear of such ingenious arts as these? Is 'divide and govern,' a new maxim, either in church or state? Are there none of those, whose business it is to '*catch men*,' the most successful *fishers* of them, when they fish in *troubled waters*?

'I appeal to the discerning and impartial reader, whether the Examiner's way of treating his subject, or rather of reviling me as an enemy to the most essential doctrines of the gospel, professed by our fathers; his professing such a regard for them himself; reproaching the Boston ministers for showing their approbation of my Observations, while they had not the courage, as he says, 'to rise up in defence of the Lord Jesus Christ and the truth of his gospel,' against me, &c.—whether all this, I say, does not sufficiently discover the bad spirit of this man, and his designs, to be really such as I suspect them.

'If the reverend ministers of Boston are supposed by any to have treated me with too much candor and charity, all I shall say at present upon that head, is, that it is in my power very fully to convince the world, that this is a groundless suspicion. But I well know what some people desire; and do not think it expedient to gratify them. '*Latet anguis in herba.*' My Examiner had doubtless a design to alarm the honored and beloved people of my pastoral charge, and to prejudice them against me. But they well know the falsehood, and perceive the malice of his accusations. And from all that I know of them, or have perceived on this occasion, his libel is likely to have an effect, in this respect, directly contrary to that which he hoped it would produce.'

Dr. Mayhew made a short reply, also, to the 'Letter' appended to the 'Candid Examination,' designed as a 'Vindication' of the society, and purporting to be written by one of its members. He first proposed to reply to it more at length; not so much for any new arguments and statement it presented, as for its coming from a member of the society. But he concluded that this would be unnecessary, after his extended remarks on the 'Examination.' In fact, the letter was a loose, declamatory performance, with less plausibility, but equal virulence with the other pamphlet.

'The author of this letter,' says Dr. Mayhew, 'styles himself a member of the society; but, as he chooses, (and not without good reason,) to conceal his name, no one is bound to believe it. But this is a matter of indifference, and I will not dispute that point with him. His letter is not the *better* though written by one of the society: nor the *worse*, if written by one who is not. It bears the marks of age,* with its usual infirmities, whoever may be the writer.

'I cannot but observe, that there is not a single authority, or quotation in the whole matter, to vindicate the society from the charge which I had made. Its vague and loose assertions rest solely on the credit of this *somebody*, nobody can tell who. And if 'the great difficulty,' which he says, he labored under in writing, is a sufficient apology for such neglect, or omission, it might well have excused him from writing at all. This is really a pleasant way of writing *answers* and *vindications*, and yet it might have been quite as convincing, to have summed up all in a single, positive assertion—that my Observations were unjust, and that the society had certainly done right.

'The politeness of this writer (or shall I rather say, his *candor?*) is sufficiently discovered in his first paragraph. He says, with an air of assurance, that my observations and reflections are 'either merely personal, or ludicrous, and often trifling, and few of them relating to the merits of the cause; which is a practice quite unbecoming a just writer, either in the critical or moral sense of that character.' A very decent and modest beginning, without doubt! He proceeds, in the same page: 'There is one grand imposition upon his readers, which runs through the whole, and which is, as it were, the burden of his song, in which there is not the least truth.' Very civil and modest again! Unless he can make good this high charge, the reader will consider what opinion I have a right to entertain, not only of his breeding, but of his veracity and morals. The pretended imposition is this: 'That the chief view and endeavor of the society has been to convert presbyterians and congregationalists to the church, to the neglect of negroes and Indians, and the heathenish colonies, as he calls them.' He immediately adds, 'If ever their missionaries had done this'——Done what, good sir? You was speaking of the chief view and endeavor of the society, not of what their missionaries have or have not done—but I will consider the writer's *age*. After passing some harsh and coarse censures upon the dissenters from the beginning, as promoters of 'faction,' &c., which he says, 'issued in right-down rebellion,' he adds, 'It is true, every good churchman must rejoice, when any of our *wandering* brethren, return to the unity of the church. But as the society was not incorporated for that purpose, nor was it ever their principal aim, I believe very few instances, if any, can be produced, of any missionaries beginning with any dissenter, with a view of reclaiming him to the church. I have been long knowing to the affairs of the society, and know of no such instances.' This is his proof of the grand imposition aforesaid. Upon which I observe—

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* The letter was said to be written by Dr. Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, then upwards of seventy.

'That he has not shown that I even inadvertently expressed myself, as if this was the 'chief view and endeavor of the society.' I very explicitly said the direct contrary; with a formal design to guard against any such construction, and to do justice and honor to the society. For the 6th section of the Observations begins thus: 'That the society have chiefly sent their missionaries into those British plantations where they were much needed, according to the true design of their institution; and that they have hereby served the interest of religion in them, is by no means to be denied. It were very criminal to deny them the praise that is justly due to them in this respect. But that they have deviated from their original plan in some other respects; and thereby left undone much of the good which they might probably have effected,' &c. Let the Vindicator compare this with his heavy charge against me, as to the grand imposition which, he says, runs through my whole performance, so as to be the burden of my song. And when he has made this comparison, taking it for granted at present, that he is an aged member of the society, I will only request him to lay his hand upon his heart, and seriously consider, whether such a groundless accusation is a branch of that righteousness, which adds a lustre and glory to the 'hoary head.'

'Though this aged member 'knows of no such instances' as he speaks of; yet, that the society have actually had it partly in their view to convert presbyterians, &c., is evident beyond dispute, even from one of their standing instructions to their missionaries. It runs thus: 'That they frequently visit their respective parishioners; those of our own communion, to keep them steady in the profession and practice of religion, as taught in the church of England; those that oppose us, or differ from us, to convince and reclaim them with a spirit of meekness and gentleness.' Now, is it not strange that this gentleman, who has been so 'long knowing to the affairs of the society,' as to have known Dr. Bray, the father of it very well, should remember nothing of this instruction, published so long ago as the year 1706, and still continued! Or was this his meaning—that though he knew of this instruction, yet he did not know of any missionary who had been duly faithful to his trust, by acting in conformity to it?

'But that some of the missionaries have not been so negligent in this respect, as he supposes, is well known to many among us. It were easy to give numerous instances of their zeal and activity in edifying the church of England, by bringing in presbyterians, &c. At present one example shall suffice. It is the famous case of Rev. commissary Price, who some time ago resided at Hopkinton, about thirty miles from Boston. Having a farm or two there, he used his endeavors to bring over the congregationalists to the church, from their reverend pastor, Mr. Samuel Barrett, an aged gentleman now living. The said Mr. Price drew up a petition to the society for a missionary, in behalf of some episcopalians in said town, to which he got as many names subscribed as possible. In this petition great encomiums are bestowed on the reverend draughtsman; and the society are earnestly solicited to fix him as a missionary at Hopkinton.

'There have been few more flagrant instances of ecclesiastical juggling, than this of the commissary. It was laid open by the Rev. Mr. Barrett, aforesaid, in a letter to Sir Henry Newman, whom, by mistake, he then supposed secretary to the society. This letter is written in a very plain, sensible and candid manner: it recites the aforesaid petition at large, and contains remarks upon it. And it may serve not only to convince this Vindicator, but to throw light upon and confirm what was said in the Observations, concerning the methods used to propagate the church of England among us.*

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* The petitioners set forth that they 'were members of the church of England, *many* by education, and *others* by conviction, after impartial inquiry for the truth. And did not the Rev. commissary Price visit us once a month, we should be without all religious worship, and in *danger of falling into the deplorable ignorance of the native Indians.* In these our miserable circumstances, to whom shall we apply, but to that pious and charitable society, which has undertaken to relieve the *distressed*, and by whose generous endeavors, we daily see *Christianity thrive and flourish among us.* And we shall be doubly thankful to be under the care of Mr. Price, to whose unwearied labors we owe our *increase and present hopeful situation.*' Rev. Mr. Barrett says—'Mr. Price knew, when he wrote this petition, that several of the subscribers to it never even *pretended* to be churchmen. One of them told me, Mr. Price urged him to sign it ; *that it could do him no hurt.* Another regretted having signed the petition, and applied to Mr. Price, who told him he *would have nothing to pay.* Another said, he was required to sign, or to leave his farm ; and added, that he intended to leave Mr. Price's farm, and then he hoped to *enjoy his own principles.* Four others declared, in a written paper, that they were not members of the church of England, nor inclined to it, but were urged to sign the petition, and expressly told, that their signing would not make them members of the episcopal church, but only help others to a minister.' Mr. Barrett then says, that there were only *three* families of episcopalians in the town ; and that several of the petitioners lived at or near Boston. 'There has long been,' says Mr. Barrett, 'and ought to have been stated by Mr. commissary Price, a congregational church in Hopkinton, which holds the profession of the same faith as is contained in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, and which have expressed their charity for the members of that church, by publicly declaring their readiness to embrace them in our own communion.'

The conduct of Mr. commissary Price, here referred to, was dictated by a spirit, then and for many years before manifested by the episcopalian clergy, encouraged by their ecclesiastical superiors in England. This spirit was assuming, claiming to exercise a controling and dispensing power. Pretending to be the only truly ordained ministers in the colonies, and as belonging to the legal established church of the British government, (which included the colonies,) they acted as if their authority was superior to the clergy of the congregational order. And these high claims excited the fears of the laity in New-England. A few years before Dr. Mayhew published his 'Observations,' the general court of Massachusetts was so alarmed by the attempts in England to support bishops in the colonies, that they instructed their agent, Mr. Mauduit, to remonstrate against the measure. It was believed that it was prevented or postponed by his efforts ; for which he afterwards received the thanks of the court.

The bishop of London, in 1725, pretended that New-England was part of his diocese ; and addressed letters to some of the governors, invoking their special attention and influence in favor of the episcopal clergy and missionaries in their respective jurisdictions. But few of the governors of Massachusetts, from 1715 to 1755, (for that period appointed by the crown,) were dissenters. Governor Shute, in 1716, was one, and favorable to the congregational churches. The others were members of the church of England, and always ready to sup-

'It is in my power, upon a proper occasion, to give other examples of their fidelity in this respect; and, perhaps, not much less to their honor, and the credit of the society, or the church, than the aforesaid conduct of the reverend commissary. This may satisfy for the present. But if I rightly understand the Vindicator, he has, by a concession in the passage above cited, gone far towards giving up the point in controversy. He there allows, that 'the society was not incorporated for that purpose;' viz., reconciling their wandering, factious, schismatical brethren (dissenters) to the church of England. For if they were not incorporated for that purpose, does it not follow, that, so far as they have used their endeavors and expended their money in order to accomplish this end, they have actually deviated from the design of their institution? And whether this has not been a great object, both with the society, and their missionaries, is humbly submitted, upon the evidence that has been produced here, and in the Observations.

'It may not be amiss, in the next place, to take some notice of what he says of Dr. Bray's testimony, before produced by me; viz., that in Connecticut and the Massachusetts, there was no occasion 'at all' for missionaries to propagate Christianity. The Vindicator says, 'I agree to his report at that time.' He afterwards intimates, that circumstances were so altered, that there has been, and is great occasion for missionaries since. Let him inform us what this alteration is. 'There was then,' says he, 'except at Boston, but here and there a member of the church of England scattered about these provinces. But does it at all follow, that when there came to be such numbers of conscientious members of the church of England, that the society had by their charter no right and business to assist in providing for them?' Now, according to this reasoning, though there was no occasion at all for missionaries here, while the people were all in a manner nonconformists; yet when churchmen became considerably numerous here, missionaries were much needed to christianize

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port the pretensions of the episcopalian clergy. Governor Joseph Dudley and Governor Hutchinson were members of congregational societies, but so subservient to the views of the crown and the ministry, that they were as ready to favor episcopacy as the others.

them, or 'to propagate Christianity' among them—which, as before observed, is Dr. Bray's expression. But why it should be so, I cannot easily see, unless people do in some sort cease to be Christians when they become churchmen; which I am very unwilling to suppose.

'As to what he says in the same page—that 'great advantages have been derived from the prevalence of the church of England here,' I shall only beg leave to refer the reader to what was said in the Observations, in answer to Mr. Apthorp upon this head. In the same page he gives another specimen of his politeness and breeding: 'If it was not for now and then such abusive and uncharitable scribblings of a few zealots, we should soon coalesce,' &c. Those who are not under very great prejudices, will, I believe, hardly agree with this gentleman, on what side there have been the most abusive and uncharitable scribblings, in our disputes with the episcopalians, and particularly in the present controversy. And whether this aged member of the society, who speaks of the nonconformists from the beginning, as *factious, rebellious* sectaries, and gravely taxes others with uncharitable scribblings, has himself written in such a manner as to give others a good example, so that we may learn decency, good manners or charity from his Vindication, is submitted to the judgment of his readers.

'After having got almost through his letter, in the manner before represented, he comes a little closer to the point in hand. 'But,' says he, 'the Doctor insists that Massachusetts and Connecticut come not within the society's limits by the charter.'—[I did not say so, absolutely, but excepted such parts even of these colonies, in which there might be either no protestant ministers, or ministers but very meanly provided for.]—'I answer, this cannot be maintained, since they are not excepted by the charter, unless it can be proved that the congregations of the church, for which the society provides in those colonies, would not, in the sense and words of the charter, want, or be destitue of the administration of God's word and sacraments, if the society did not assist them. But this he does not, nor can he prove. Surely he cannot pretend that king William, who introduced the toleration of dissenters, would leave his loving subjects of the church untolerated, and under the necessity of receiving God's word and sacraments contrary to their consciences, or of having none. It must therefore be his meaning, to provide that his loving subjects of the church might enjoy God's word and sacraments in these colonies.' &c.

'This passage, having more of the form and air of an argument than any other in the letter, shall be impartially, though briefly examined. And,

'1. Here is a plain concession, that these colonies do not come within the limits of the society's charter, if it can be proved that the episcopalians in them would not be destitute of the administration of God's word and sacraments, in the sense of the charter, although they were not provided for by the society. On which supposition it will clearly follow, that whatever has been expended for them, has been misapplied, i. e., applied in a way not warranted by the charter.

'2. That clause [in the sense and words of the charter,] by which the Vindicator would some way qualify or restrain the general expression in the charter—' want, or be destitute of the administration of God's word and sacraments'—will not answer his end, unless he can prove that the royal grantor used this latter expression in some peculiar, appropriate sense, not known and allowed by protestants in general, of different denominations: or, in other words, that he meant thereby, the administration of God's word and sacraments, according to the particular usage of the church of England, not only in opposition to that of the church of Rome, but of Scotland, Holland, Geneva, and other protestant churches in general. If he understood it in any less appropriate sense, or in the sense common among protestants, the Vindicator can deduce no conclusion herefrom, that will be to his advantage.

'3. That the charter uses the aforesaid expression, in any such peculiar and appropriate sense, does not appear. Or, to use his own words, 'this he does not, nor can he prove.' On the contrary, it appears from the charter, that this expression was used in the common, known and general sense of protestants. Because the evils proposed to be remedied or guarded against, by having orthodox ministers provided, are not presbyterianism, congregationalism, lutheranism, or any particular form of protestantism, though different from the church of England; but atheism, infidelity, and the gross errors of popery. What was wanted and proposed, was, ministers to instruct people 'in the principles of true religion' in general, considered only in opposition to such fatal errors as these; or 'in the christian religion,' as it is afterwards expressed. All which clearly shows, that the aforesaid expression was used in a catholic sense, not in that narrow, limited one, which the Vindicator contends for.

'4. Whereas the Vindicator seems to lay a mighty stress upon this dilemma, or alternative, that the episcopalians among us, unless the society provided for them, would be 'under the necessity of receiving God's word and sacraments contrary to their consciences, or of having none,' as he accurately expresses it; I answer, that though this, if true, may be justly considered as a great infelicity, yet it will never prove, that this particular provision was designed for them. Nay, for any thing that appears at present, the king's loving presbyterian or congregational subjects, living in another colony, where they labored under a similar inconvenience, might near as plausibly argue, that the good king William, who was no bigot, and had a paternal regard for all his protestant subjects, though not of the church of England, undoubtedly designed that persons in their unhappy situation should be relieved and assisted by this charity; lest they should be under a necessity, either of communicating with the church of England contrary to their consciences, or else not enjoy God's word and sacraments at all. But let me just add here, that it is notorious, the society have long supported missions in New-England, in places where the episcopalians were not in fact reduced to such a dilemma; being sufficiently numerous and wealthy to support their own ministers.

'Whether these remarks do or do not sufficiently shew the invalidity of the Vindicator's reasoning, is submitted to the intelligent reader. To give my sense of this dispute in a few words: Whoever would fairly vindicate the society's conduct, must, I humbly conceive, not only prove that the mode of worship and discipline, generally practised in New-England, is less pure and scriptural than that of the church of

England, in a comparative view; which I am fully persuaded, never has or can be done, but that it is so wholly corrupt and unscriptural, that we cannot be said to enjoy 'the administration of God's word and sacraments,' in a christian and protestant sense. So that the people here would, without the society's care, be in very imminent, peculiar danger of falling into atheism or infidelity, or being perverted to popery. Unless this is a true representation of our religious, or rather irreligious state, all that has been hitherto said to justify their conduct, must pass for nothing. Some of my antagonists, I think all, have given broad hints that they consider us in this disadvantageous point of light. If this be their real meaning, let them speak out boldly; and assign their reasons. I do not believe they will presume to do so, or rest the cause here. If they do, I promise that, if God spares my life and health, they shall have either my answer, or my confession; and if the latter, I will also immediately become a proselyte to the church of England, and endeavor, by my future zeal in her behalf, according to my mean abilities, to make some amends for whatever I have said in times past, either against her or against the conduct of the venerable society. For I was never a temporizer in religious matters; but have always freely spoken, professed, preached, published, what I thought agreeable to the word and will of God, whatever misapprehensions I may have been under in any respect.

'I pass over what the Vindicator says about the society's never having neglected the southern colonies, or the Indians, in any degree, as his *ipse dixit;* not only without any proof, but contrary to direct proofs produced in the Observations; and which, therefore, merit no particular reply. His general charges, as to my abusing the church of England, and having no charity for them; his intimations about heresy; and his suggesting that I am against toleration; all these things I pass over, also, as mere groundless calumnies, fit only to be despised. As I repeatedly said in the Observations, I now again declare, that I esteem and highly honor many episcopalians—all of them who are persons of virtue, moderation, and candor; and am desirous to live in friendship and good neighborhood with them, notwithstanding differences in opinion, if they will *condescend* to let me.

'But there is something in this self-sufficient, rude censor's last paragraph, which must not escape without a brief animadversion. He says, he 'cannot but imagine, that the candid and serious, even among the dissenters themselves, must be sensible that Dr. Mayhew has most unjustly charged the society ; and that his own friends can scarcely be able to withhold a blush for him, at his indecent as well as injurious treatment of that venerable body—and also at his *mean* and *unworthy* personal *invectives* against the *modest* and *very deserving* gentleman, who has been the innocent occasion of provoking his *riotous pen.*'

'1. I may presume to know the opinion of those whom he calls dissenters, better than this unpolished dogmatizer, whether a member of the society or not. Nor have I the least reason to think, that there is a single man of them, who has read the Observations, but what thinks I fully and clearly proved what I undertook to shew, (if not *more*,) and therefore did the society no injustice.

'2. I can, upon good grounds, assure him, that this is also the opinion of some 'candid and serious' persons, even of the church of England : who are, perhaps, as much disposed to 'blush' for the society, as any of my friends are to blush for me, with relation to this matter.

'3. I am sincerely sorry that, by speaking of what he calls 'mean and unworthy personal invectives against the *modest* and *very deserving* gentleman, who has been the innocent occasion of provoking my riotous pen,' he should at once give me reason to complain of his own foul language, and revive the remembrance of that gentleman's inconcinnate performance ; which, for the credit of the author and the cause, he ought to have wished might remain in oblivion. His pamphlet was an insult upon the memory of our fathers, and upon the ministers, religion, and churches of New-England. Neither his *modesty*, nor his great *merits*, either as a scholar, gentleman, or fair reasoner, appeared in that performance. His uncommon self-sufficiency, his unfairness in mangling the charter, his contempt of other people, and even of *grammar*, were much more conspicuous. In short, he handled his argument in such a manner, as naturally to excite both ridicule and resentment. Nor were all the advantages taken against him, that might justly have been taken. I am much deceived, (not to say *misinformed*,) if either his equals here, or his superiors elsewhere, have been 'able to withhold a blush for him.' And, by his long silence, there is room to entertain such an opinion of his *modesty*, as to suppose that he blushes for himself. These things are not said by way of insult upon that ill-advised gentleman, to whom I sincerely wish well, but in my own necessary defence. So that both he and his friends have far less reason to blame me than the Vindicator; who, by his indiscretion, his rude censures upon one hand, and his unseasonable compliments on the other, has put me upon thus calling back to remembrance what would otherwise have been fit only to be *forgotten*.'

Rev. Noah Hobart, of Fairfield, Connecticut, who was well acquainted with the merits of the controversy between episcopalians and dissenters, and particularly with the conduct of the episcopal society in England, addressed several letters on the subject, about this time, to Dr. Mayhew, which are well worthy of notice. The following is dated November 1, 1763.

'I ought, some months ago, to have returned you my sincere and hearty thanks for your excellent 'Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society;' and for your goodness in sending me one of the pamphlets.

'I sincerely rejoice that the controversy has fallen into the hands of one able to manage it to much greater advantage than I had done. I observe by the public prints that some remarks on your pamphlet are published, and that you are writing a defence. I have not seen the remarks; but I am so well acquainted with the subject, I do not doubt of your being able fully to justify all you have before written, unless your remarker should (for want of something else to say) attack you on the character you have given of me; *which you may not be able to defend*.'

In December, 1763, after having read Dr. Mayhew's 'Defence,' Mr. Hobart wrote him as follows:

'I have read, with pleasure and improvement, your late excellent 'Defence;' and take this first opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for the important service you have done the public by your writings in this controversy, and for the particular regard shown me, in sending the pamphlet and the kind letter accompanying it. It gives me real pleasure to find a subject, on which I formerly labored, treated to so much greater advantage.* Your 'Examiner,' was as far from intending me a compliment, as from doing you justice, when he represented you as borrowing from my publication. I thought they had forgotten, if not forgiven, what I wrote against them; but I perceive the wound is deeper than I had supposed, and still gives them pain. You will not be surprised, then, if I tell you, that attacking them in this spot, is the unpardonable sin! and therefore, that you are to expect all the abuse they are capable of. I am surprised to find so few marks of a hasty composition in your 'Defence,' which must have been written in a short time.† I do not observe any thing of this kind, affecting the argument, unless, perhaps, the apparent diffidence with which you argue against the idea of the establishment of the church of England in the colonies. I cannot but believe, that the arguments and facts adduced by you, would have well justified greater confidence than you have expressed.

'As I am fully convinced, that the society have misapplied their funds in supporting missionaries among us, and that this is so far from promoting, that it greatly injures religion, I have long wished that some gentleman, who was able to write up to the taste of the British nation, would undertake to set that matter in a true and strong light. I thank God that I have *lived to see it done.* I sincerely hope that your writings may be generally read in England, so that you may have the *honor*, and they the *success* they deserve.

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* Mr. Hobart had written a few years before, pointing out the impropriety of having so many episcopalian missionaries in Connecticut, where there were a good supply of congregational clergy, and so few members of the church of England.

† Dr. Mayhew's reply to Apthorp and to the Examiner appeared in about four weeks after their publications.

'P. S. I never could find any law which gives authority to the bishop of London to appoint commissaries in the colonies, nor do I know the kind of commission which he gives. Yet, it is said, the latter should be recorded in the secretary's office of the colony.'*

Some extracts from another letter of Rev. Mr. Hobart, to Dr. Mayhew, on the same subject, dated April, 1764, will not be out of place here.

'The accounts lately received from England, are favorable: but I heard that your 'Observations' and 'Defence' were not likely to be published there.† I have just now learnt that they have been extensively circulated there. I have read the extract from the Monthly Review with much pleasure, and a piece from the London Advertiser. Things are now in the channel in which I have wished to see them. I have, indeed, no great expectation that the society, (venerable as it is,) will act a just part towards us, unless they are obliged to do it. But if we can raise the nation upon them, and prevent the people trusting them with the distribution of their bounty, the business is done effectually. And this I hoped would be done by your writings. I was sensible, they would need only be known, to be admired. And I depend on it, that the noise made in England by your pamphlets, will occasion a new edition there, if not already done. I am told the answer is by Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester; and congratulate you on the honor of such an answer.‡ He is a man of great learning; and I hope he has treated you with more complaisance than he did some who wrote against his 'divine legation.' I trust it will not be long before we shall see your reply to him.

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* It is believed, that parliament never passed such a law; nor ever assumed ecclesiastical authority over the churches in the New-England colonies. *Intimations* were sometimes given by the *crown*, in favor of the episcopal clergy in America; and some governors were desired to protect and encourage them. But this was rather a recommendation than a command. Nor did any king or ministry treat the congregationalists here as schismatics, as they did in England; but recognized the system and form observed by them, as proper and legal.

† The 'Observations' were then already published in London; and the 'Defence' soon after.

‡ The answer was anonymous; but was afterwards known to be written by the archbishop of Canterbury.

'Your opponents, on this side of the Atlantic, I think have at length learnt wit enough to be quiet. Some episcopalians, in this vicinity, instead of talking of an answer to your 'Defence,' pretend to like it very well; and try to persuade their people that you have *retracted* almost all they disliked in your 'Observations.' Wishing you as complete victory over the bishop, your answerer, as you have over Mr. Apthorp and the 'Candid Examiner,' I am, with great respect, &c.'

In May, 1764, Mr. Hobart again wrote Dr. Mayhew, and some parts of his letter here follow:

'I have the favor of your obliging letter by Mr. Gray; and a present, from his worthy father, (Mr. treasurer Gray,) of your 'Observations,' (a London edition,) and of the *famous* answer to them. As you wish to hear from me, as to some facts, before your remarks are published, I shall send a line by first opportunity; though I cannot flatter myself with adding any thing to you, on a subject you have already treated in so masterly a manner, and with such remarkable success.

'I have read the London answer three times. On the first reading, I was under some concern for you. The author's smooth, plausible, artful way of writing, almost prevented my observing the weakness of his arguments. And in this is his greatest *forte.* When I read the answer more carefully, I found that, instead of justifying the conduct of the society, he had only offered some plausible excuses for their *misconduct.* The society must stand or fall by its charter. Now he acknowledges that the case of the episcopalians in New-England is not particularly described nor provided for in the charter. The consequence must be, I think, that the society has no concern with them.

'June 1. Since writing as above, I have learnt, that your remarks in reply to the London answer, are in the press. I know not whose hands this letter may pass through; and suppose that, in the present circumstances, some persons would be bad enough to open a letter directed to you. I shall therefore enclose it to Mr. Gray, as the most certain way to have it go safely. I am of opinion, sir, that you have a very fair opportunity of finishing this controversy with much honor to yourself, and great advantage to the cause. I have no doubt of your improving the opportunity: and I sincerely wish and confidently expect great success.'

In a letter, dated September, 1764, Mr. Hobart says:

'I have read your remarks in answer to the archbishop, with great satisfaction. And though I think you have been more liberal than you need have been, yet you have well *defended all that is essential* to the controversy, and obtained a complete victory over your famous antagonist. I only wish you had suppressed the remark upon *homoousianity*,* which has no relation to the dispute; and which will prejudice many friends to the cause, and give advantages to your enemies, if they should write again.'

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* This term refers to the doctrine of the *equality* of our Lord, the Son of God, as he is called in *figurative* language, with God, the Father; or of the *Son* being of the *same* essence or nature with the *Father*, instead of being of a *like* nature. The latter opinion was called the *arian* doctrine, in the fourth century, and was then the very general belief. But the council of Nice contended for and voted in favor of the former—the *equality* or sameness of nature and essence, of the Son with the Father. And after the time of Athanasius, this became the *orthodox* opinion—that is, the doctrine of the majority; but whether from a conviction of its truth, or an acquiescence in what the council voted, is another question. They certainly could not understand the doctrine, and some said, 'they believed it because it was *impossible*.' Yet the reputed *orthodox*, in the fourth century, acknowledged that the phrase, 'God over all,' should be applied exclusively to the Father, when it was first asserted that Christ was equal to, and one in person with the Father. And it is a remarkable fact, that the passage in Romans ix. 4, 5, as it is in our common version, was not adduced among the texts in favor of the doctrine of the Son's *equality* with the Father. The most natural construction of the text, when the apostle's meaning is considered, is that the Jewish nation had the privilege of the oracles and worship of God; of the divine law and promises; of having the Messiah spring from them; and, last and greatest, of having been favored with the knowledge of the only true God, or of having JEHOVAH for their God, more especially.

Rev. Dr. William Harris, in a note to his friend, Mr. Hollis, in 1764, says:

'I ask the favor of you to send a few books to Dr. Mayhew, (in return for those he has lately forwarded to me,) who is so able to make use of them; and assure him of my esteem, and my readiness to procure him assistance, in the literary way, as far as in my power. Were I a rich man, Dr. Mayhew should not be a very poor one; though I plainly perceive he is at present richer than many a right-reverend bishop, with twenty thousand pounds sterling a year; and I hope he will always continue to be so, as he well deserves.' *

The Monthly Review, of January, 1764, notices Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' with a high compliment to the talents and arguments of the writer. The reviewer says:—'We

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* Mr. Hollis, in one of his letters, calls this gentleman his *friend*, and the *excellent* Dr. Harris. He was a great writer, and a very learned man. He published several volumes, as the life of James I., Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, and of Charles II. He also wrote the life of the celebrated Hugh Peters. Mr. Hollis speaks of him, as an ardent friend of civil and religious liberty. 'He wrote for the *people*,' says Mr. Hollis, 'that they might understand their rights; while Hume, Smollet, and others, wrote to flatter kings, and to justify their arbitrary power.' Dr. Harris was also intimate with Lord Orford, Archdeacon Blackburn, Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, Mrs. Macauley, &c. Dr. Harris was educated under Rev. Dr. Amory, in Taunton, England—an eminent minister among the dissenters. He began to preach at the age of nineteen; and was, even at that early age, esteemed a man of pregnant abilities, and a great lover of books. By his biographer, it is mentioned to his honor, that he corresponded with Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, New-England. But little of this correspondence, however, is now known. A short letter of Dr. Harris' to Dr. Mayhew, found among the papers of the latter, though dated July, 1765, may be inserted here.—'I am greatly obliged by your kind acceptance of the few books I sent you; [mentioned before] as, also, by your present of your learned discourse, and the curious history of Massachusetts, which I have read with avidity and pleasure.* If the books I sent to your college are any way serviceable to promote learning and virtue; if they open and improve the minds of youth, and qualify them to adorn the posts they are allotted to fill in society; I shall greatly rejoice: it being my only aim to do good, according to the small means intrusted to me by providence, and thus to discharge the duty imposed upon me. A few small things accompany this, of which I beg your acceptance, with my best wishes for the prosperity of yourself and your college.'

* He refers to Mr. Hutchinson's history, and probably to Dr. Mayhew's discourse, at the Dudleyan lecture, in May, 1765, which was very learned and elaborate, on the idolatry of the Romish church.

hope the society may be able to answer the charge of a misapplication of their funds, by supporting missions in New-England; but we fear they cannot—for the charge is like the *Devil's cannon-ball,* in Milton—

> 'Of hard contents, and full of force urged home.'

'There is too much reason to fear the society value the christian religion, only as being the most *reputable* support of episcopacy.'

A writer in the London Public Advertiser, of April, 1764, refers to the disproval, by the king, of the society formed in Boston for propagating the gospel among the Indians, &c., and expresses his great surprise at such a negative; and he asks, 'How can any real Christians in England object to such a society in America? Are they jealous, with a *godly* jealousy, that they shall be outdone by the colonists in so good a work? Or is it their object and desire rather to extend the bounds of the church of England, than to have the gospel preached to poor Indians? It seems strange that the episcopalians here will do nothing towards spreading the gospel among the Indians, nor even suffer others to do it, because they are not of the same communion, and yet keep their missionaries in the most populous towns in New-England.'

In 1763 and 1764, the papists in England were in great favor, and treated with far more lenity than the dissenters. And they boasted of making many converts to the church of Rome. The archbishop of Canterbury also boasted, in his answer to Dr. Mayhew, that they were unmolested in all their arts of proselyting. They wrote on the penal laws of England against popery, in such a manner, that when the pamphlet was read in Boston, Dr. Mayhew says, in a letter to Mr. Hollis, at this time, that 'it was supposed to be written by a liberal person of the protestant English church, and in an *ironical* manner. For the writer acknowledges a close and general similarity between the churches of Rome and of England.' The conclusion which both Mr. Hollis and Dr. Mayhew drew from the pamphlet, and justly, no doubt, was, that 'the high churchmen in England, at that time. with most of the bishops, and the tory politicians, were far less inimical to the Roman catholics than to protestant dissenters.' This was notoriously the case in the time of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and Charles II., and again in the reign even of George III.

The thirty-nine articles have proved a stumbling block to many an honest man, and it is believed that the majority of the clergy of the established church in England, has been desirous of removing that 'stone of offence,' for a long period: for while they have conformed to the rites of the church, they disbelieved her doctrines as expressed in the articles required to be subscribed. In 1772, several hundred of the established clergy petitioned parliament for a dispensation from subscribing to the articles and to the liturgy; but there was a vigorous and successful opposition to it. About the same time, an effort was made to excuse dissenters from the necessity of subscribing the articles of a church, to which they did not belong. A very reasonable request, surely; and so thought the house of commons; but when the bill was before the house of lords, it was fiercely opposed by most of the bishops, and rejected by a large majority. It was on this occasion, that the archbishop of York (Dr. Drummond) charged the dissenters, as men of a 'close ambition.' But they found an able advocate in the great Earl of Chatham, who spake in substance as follows:

'This is judging uncharitably; and who brings such a charge, without proof, is a defamer. The dissenting ministers are represented as men of *close ambition*. They are so, my lords; and their ambition is to keep *close* to the college of fishermen, not of cardinals; and to the doctrines of the inspired apostles, and not to the decrees of interested and *aspiring* prelates. They contend for a scriptural creed and a spiritual worship; and we now have a *calvinistic* creed, a *popish* liturgy, and an *arminian* clergy. The reformation has laid open the sacred volume to all; let not the bishops shut it up again. Laws, in support of ecclesiastical power, are pleaded for, which it would shock humanity to execute. It is pretended that religious sects have done great mischief, when not kept under restraint, but history affords no evidence, that sects have been mischievous, when they were not persecuted by the dominant church.'

The voice of justice did not then prevail; but in 1779, an act was passed, by which a declaration of a belief in Christianity was substituted for a subscription to the articles of the church of England. In 1787, an unsuccessful effort was made to abolish the corporation and test acts. In 1790, the motion was again made by Mr. Fox, but was voted down by the influence of Mr. Burke and the younger Pitt.

Various other attempts were made, for the same purpose, at different periods, by enlightened and liberal statesmen; and in 1828, in the reign of George IV., the repeal of the test and corporation law was effected, and the most grievous disabilities, laid on dissenters from the established church, were removed. Under all systems, however partial and unjust, there will be found liberal men to counteract, in some measure, the very oppressive operation of them. But so long as a legal system is unjust, whether civil or ecclesiastical, they who execute the laws will have the power to oppress. And this consideration furnishes a strong objection to all national religions: for they not only punish or restrain overt acts of disobedience, but interfere with the sacred rights of conscience, and prevent all free inquiry. There may be such characters as archbishop Cheverus, in the Romish church, and such as bishop Hoadley and archdeacon Blackburn, in the English church; but while the system, which they are bound by office to support and enforce, operates oppressively or injuriously, it is essentially erroneous and evil, and will prove, more or less, a violation of the unalienable rights of mankind.

CHAPTER IX.

Answer of archbishop of Canterbury to Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations'—Dr. Mayhew's Remarks in reply—Letters respecting the controversy, and the answer of the archbishop—Other notices of the answer—Plan of comprehension—Apthorp's Review, &c.

It is believed that, after his 'Defence,' and the reply to the letter and pamphlet already noticed, Dr. Mayhew had no intention to continue the controversy. There are indications of his unwillingness to engage any further in this dispute; and his friends were of the opinion that he had maintained the position which he took, which was to show the misapplication of the funds of the society, in supporting missionaries in old and populous towns, where ministers were already settled, instead of sending them to the Indians, and to others who were destitute; that he had ably answered, not only Mr. Apthorp, but the writers of the 'Letter' and of the 'Examination.' But when the controversy was resumed by a writer in England, a few months after, who was more plausible and more courteous than his other opposers, and said to be a high dignitary of the church, it was considered necessary for Dr. Mayhew to reply. The 'Answer' was attributed by some, when first published, to Dr. Warburton, the learned bishop of Gloucester; but was soon after considered the production of archbishop Secker: and this became the general and undisputed opinion. A mild and candid spirit is discovered by the writer, in some parts of this 'Answer' to Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' and yet it did not lack severe and personal remarks, into which party zeal betrayed him, which could not be justified. But some will think that an apology could, perhaps be found in the severity and sarcasm contained in the 'Observations.'

The writer of this 'Answer,' did not aim merely to vindicate the society for its conduct, but referred, also, and at some length, to the charge made by Dr. Mayhew, of a plan in England to support bishops in the colonies, for the purpose of making proselytes to the church, and increasing the influence and numbers of episcopalians; and to the general question, as to whether episcopacy was agreeable to the directions of Christ, or the practice of the apostles.

Dr. Mayhew was charged with undue severity, and with some misstatements; but the writer rendered himself liable to censure for evading the question chiefly at issue, for statements founded in the exaggerated accounts of others, and for remarks of a personal kind, not consistent with the general tone of his 'Answer;' as well as for an assumed air of superiority, as one speaking by high authority, if not by *divine right.* Still many concessions were made to Dr. Mayhew; and the society excused, by the plea of being misinformed by its missionaries, and other individuals who wished for episcopal ministers.

'The answerer also intimates, that missionaries, in future, would be sent only, or chiefly, to needy and destitute settlements, and instructed not to interfere with the members of the congregational and presbyterian churches.

So ingenuous was the spirit of Dr. Mayhew, that he appears to have been subdued—if it could be said he was subdued at all—rather by the candor, than by the arguments of this writer. In his remarks in reply, he corrects the few and trivial mistakes he had made in his 'Observations,' which were prepared at short notice, and acknowledges that many of the clergy of the episcopal church possessed a catholic, protestant spirit. But he contended that his former statements and representations were, in substance, correct and true, as to the deviation of the society from the express design and provisions of its charter, and the evils, in a religious view, resulting from such perversion or deviation. Dr. Mayhew also referred to the conduct of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. and II. and to the hierarchy in their time, and to the persecutions against those who could not assent to human authority in religious concerns; to numerous successive plans, for a long course of years, for establishing episcopacy in New-England, for augmenting its power, and for placing bishops in several parts of the colonies, to oversee and direct in ecclesiastical affairs. And, towards the close of his remarks, he notices the personal attacks made on him in the 'Answer,' and indulges in his usual strain of severity and tartness. But the writer had provoked this severity, by inquiring what *trade* Dr. Mayhew was of, and by intimating that one so *poor* and so obscure, should not presume to rebuke or instruct his superiors.

The writer of the 'Answer' says, 'Dr. Mayhew's Observations are partly against the church of England, in general; partly against the conduct of the society, for sending episcopalian ministers to Massachusetts and Connecticut; and partly against appointing bishops in the colonies. He objects against the constitution and the forms of worship in the church of England, as unscriptural; but, instead of proofs, he contents himself with bold assertions, and reproachful names, and ludicrous representations.' And he insists, that it has been honored and admired by many foreign protestants; who have also blamed the puritans and dissenters for separating from it. He also notices the objection of Dr. Mayhew, that the church of England is so like the church of Rome, that the members of the latter esteem the former, and the members of the former are generally in favor of the latter: which the writer considers a very weak argument.

The answerer admits the widely different ranks among the episcopal clergy, and attempts to justify it, by considerations of decency and expediency; but fails to show any example for the English hierarchy, in the apostolic or next following age. He denies that the king is head of the English church, except so far as he is the chief magistrate in the nation, and the highest officer in the church, which is supported by the civil power. That the church had been a persecutor of dissenters, he admits; but intimates that it was more from obstinacy, or laying stress on things indifferent, that they had been evil-intreated.

He also notices the charge of Dr. Mayhew, that the society maintained episcopal churches and ministers where other protestant teachers were settled, and that the great object was to make proselytes to the church of England. And he denies that such was the design of the society; admitting, at the same time, that the society might have been sometimes misinformed on these points. That it was so, was a point urged by Dr. Mayhew; for he considered the society had been deceived, or they would not have placed missionaries in some towns where they had. In the case of Mr. Apthorp's church, in Cambridge, the society had been led to believe there were fifty families, when, according to Dr. Mayhew, there were only twelve. And if there were fifty, surely they would have supported a minister, instead of having one who received his salary from the society in England. The answerer had been made to believe, that the episcopalians were fast increasing in New-England, and that the better informed were among the number of converts. In this, also, he was mistaken, except as to a very few instances. He admits, also, that the case of episcopalians in New-England, where the means of religion are fully enjoyed, was not described nor provided for in the charter of the society; but contends that a discretionary power might justly be supposed to reside with the society, in this application of its funds. And he thinks it would be strange if the head of an episcopal church should be indifferent about the forms and ceremonies of that church, or should neglect to provide episcopal worship for all members of their communion, however few in any one place. In opposition to what Dr. Mayhew had observed, as to the meaning of the word orthodox, the writer of the 'Answer,' contends that its legal and proper signification is, a member of the church of England—the only church known by the laws of the land. His remarks indicate, as did those of the Examiner and Mr. Apthorp, that an episcopal clergyman was considered orthodox, whatever might be his opinion on doctrinal points; while no nonconformist could justly be allowed to be so, however evangelical in his sentiments. And he more than intimates, that if the clergy will but subscribe the thirty-nine articles, they may understand and interpret them as they choose.

At length, towards the close of his 'Answer,' the writer says, 'I will proceed to the proofs of the society's misconduct.' And he asserts, that, if episcopal clergymen were not wanted in New-England, at the beginning of that century, they were then necessary, as the members of the church of England were far more numerous than fifty years before. His authority for this statement is, the report of the missionaries of the society, which Dr. Mayhew had shown was often to be received with great caution. And he had no other authority for asserting that 'the labors of the episcopal clergy had served greatly to improve the manners and morals of the people.'

To the charge of Dr. Mayhew, that 'the society sometimes received contributions from dissenters, and yet employed missionaries to oppose or to proselyte them,' the writer says, 'there might be some donations from dissenters, but that no dissenters were members of the society.' And he allows that none but *episcopalian* clergymen were employed as missionaries, nor could justly be expected to be.

'In all I have said above, I am far from intending to affirm that the society hath not laid out in Massachusetts and Connecticut too large an amount, considering the wants of other provinces. They have a discretionary power, within the bounds of their trust; and while they confine themselves to those bounds, the money they receive is entirely at their disposal, and so far their own; but still they ought to use their power *judiciously*, and in that they may have failed. For what society of men have not? But for the last five or six years, I believe, no new missions have been appointed in Massachusetts or Connecticut, which had not been before, except that at Cambridge.*

'What is past, as the Dr. observes, cannot be recalled: but if mistakes have happened, they may be avoided for the future; and the society is not above altering its measures. Doubtless, it would have liked more fair and civil treatment, than he hath given it, but, *fas est ab hoste doceri.* It cannot desert the churches which it hath under its protection unless they become too rich to need assistance, or too small to deserve it. More care may also be used to know when either of these things falls out. All forwardness in our missionaries to molest those of other persuasions, may be prohibited, and all parties, to serve ecclesiastical schemes, be severely checked. The eyes of the society may be turned more attentively to the dark corners of the colonies: a friendly correspondence may also be carried on between some members of that body and some of the congregational and presbyterian ministers, whose dispositions are mild and ingenuous; and thus animosities and jealousies may gradually be extinguished; of which I think the society is desirous.'

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* Quite moderate and reasonable. Was it the effect of Dr. Mayhew's able remarks; or had a better spirit fallen on the archbishop?

Here is a liberal and excellent spirit discovered by the eminent prelate who wrote this 'Answer;' and yet, in other parts of his reply, he is unjustly severe, and sometimes personal. The correspondents of Dr. Mayhew in England said the tone and language of the hierarchy, were more moderate after the 'Observations' were published.

As to a plan for having bishops in America, which Dr. Mayhew had asserted was maturing, the answerer admits that most episcopalians were in favor of it, as it would prove beneficial to the churches here. He says, 'the constitution of the church is episcopal, and that it is proper to have bishops where there are episcopal churches. In some of the plantations, episcopacy is the *established religion.** And it is desired that two or more bishops may be appointed for them, to reside where his majesty may direct, whose duty it shall be to ordain ministers, to confirm the children, and to take the oversight of the episcopal clergy, (but not of the church;) and to have no concern with those who do not belong to the church of England.' The writer admits that this proposal had been often made; viz., in 1712, 1730, and in 1740.

'The terror of being taxed for bishops and their *underlings*, as Dr. Mayhew civilly calls the body of the clergy, is very chimerical. Tithes are paid in England to the clergy, by virtue of grants made many ages ago, and no one will pretend, that an act of parliament could now be obtained to impose a tax of this kind, (not before known,) on the people, for the maintainance of an ecclesiastical hierarchy.* Dr. Mayhew, therefore, need give himself no anxiety for the liberty of his *dear* country, though a bishop should be placed there. For if one should be placed in America, it would not probably be in the province of the puritans.'

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* This is not so positive as the Examiner was, who said episcopacy was the established religion throughout the British dominions.

Much more might be quoted from the 'Answer' of the archbishop to Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' but it cannot be necessary in order to give the outlines and the substance of the 'Answer.' There is a catholic spirit exhibited in most parts, and all persecution is expressly disclaimed and condemned: but it is fully implied, that all dissenters from the church of England, and all nonconformists, were turbulent and unreasonable in their conduct, and would be greatly benefitted by conformity to the *decent* rites and the spiritual authority of the episcopal church. The archbishop asserts, that, should any bishops be placed in the colonies, they would not dictate to, nor interfere with, the congregational clergy. And he promises that their missionaries will be located, in future, only where there are no congregational ministers settled, or where there are some episcopalians, unable to support a clergyman themselves. He admits many improper locations of their missionaries, through misinformation, and says more care would be taken in that respect hereafter. This was all Dr. Mayhew asserted or complained of.

The greater part of the 'Answer' is apologetical, by attempts to excuse the society, in so far as it had deviated from the spirit of its charter—it having been misinformed by its missionaries; and by intimations of conforming more closely to it in future.

A portion of the archbishop's pamphlet was also devoted to a defence of the church of England, as both scriptural and proper, its rites and forms being decent and useful, and the different ranks and duties of the clergy being favorable to the discipline and government of the church and the religious improvement of the people. It cannot be said that the 'Answer' indicates very great learning in the author; and it appears, that he supposed his assertion, as the primate of all England, would be sufficient to decide the question whether episcopacy, and the rites and forms of the established church, were agreeable to apostolic model; or were a near approach to, and close imitation of the church of Rome. The 'Answer' was probably intended for effect in England, as well as to encourage the cause of episcopacy in the colonies. The evident design was, to quiet the people of England as to the established church, as to the importance of uniformity in religion, and the little deviation in its modes and forms from the primitive worship in the time of the apostles and of the next succeeding age. Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' in reply to Mr. Apthorp, and his 'Defence,' in answer to the pamphlet called 'A Candid Examination' of his remarks, had been published in England, by Mr. Hollis, his friend and correspondent, and widely circulated. And it was concluded necessary to counteract the effect of such a powerful attack on the established church. This purpose was to be accomplished with a show of great moderation and candor, so as not to alarm the dissenters, nor to disgust intelligent churchmen. But if the spirit of direct persecution had subsided, by the prevalence of enlightened and liberal views of religion, the spirit of intolerance remained, denouncing all those as turbulent and erring schismatics who were dissenters from the established forms of religion; subjecting them to taxes, privations and disabilities, from which the dutiful or professing children of the church were exempt. In a word, the 'Answer' was generally considered rather as plausible than convincing, and more distinguished for moderation and courtesy, than for learning or arguments. The 'Answer' was published in England, early in the year 1764, and soon after it was known in this country, Dr. Mayhew replied to it, with equal candor and spirit. The 'Answer' was generally believed to be written by a dignified clergyman of the established church; but it was not known for sometime that the primate of all England was the author.

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* This may be called 'a precious confession' of the archbishop, against himself. The injustice of the present church establishment is here fully admitted.

The plan of bishop Burnet, in the former part of the last century, and which archbishop Secker afterwards advocated, for bishops in America, would certainly be liable to far less objections, than if they were to be clothed with political power, or to have a higher authority than the congregational and presbyterian clergy. For episcopacy, dispossessed of all superhuman and worldly power, is comparatively a harmless creature. And yet, so long as bishops lay claim to a divine right to rule in the church, and to exercise greater authority than other clergymen, they cannot be approved, either by a republican community, or by Christians who would strictly follow apostolic precedent and directions. And whenever an effort has been made for a union by the more liberal of the dissenters and reformers, for two hundred and fifty years past, the high-church party has opposed, except on condition of retaining the rites and forms of episcopacy, and the extraordinary spiritual power of the bishops above that of the other clergy. Sir Matthew Hale prepared a bill, in 1668, for a comprehension, or union, but it was rejected by the high-church party, because some degree of religious liberty was to be enjoyed, and many rites and ceremonies dispensed with. Thirty years before that period, a large convention of protestant clergy in England were in favor of a greater reform from popery, and of placing the clergy on a level. Much later, also, in 1745, Rev. Dr. Chandler and others proposed a union of dissenters with the episcopal church; and archbishop Herring and two bishops were in favor of the plan; but those of the high-church party and of the high-tory party among the laity, were violently opposed to it, and would not consent to yield any thing to the dissenters.

At the time of this controversy on episcopacy, and the conduct of the episcopal society in locating missionaries in old and populous places in New-England, where there was a learned and pious ministry, there were different opinions as to the results of the efforts for extending the influence of the established English church. Some supposed there was no danger to the churches in New-England; while a large majority viewed those efforts of the English hierarchy with much alarm, having a recollection of former oppressive and intolerant measures towards the dissenters. Especially was it feared that the united influence and action of the ecclesiastical and political departments in the parent state, would prove highly injurious to the interests of pure religion, and to the civil rights of the people. At this period there was, indeed, a more moderate and tolerant spirit prevailing among the members of the church of England, than was displayed one hundred, and one hundred and fifty years before ;* but the system was the same as in the time of Elizabeth, James, and the Charleses ; the bishops were grasping at power, and covetous of worldly honors and wealth ; their claims to a divine right to decree articles of faith and modes of worship, were still put forth ; and the rites and ceremonies of the church were deemed so unscriptural and vain, as that many pious people could not conscientiously conform to them. And it was wisely judged, therefore, that such claims and assumptions of power should be opposed decidedly, fully and seasonably. The maxim, *obsta principiis*, was considered important in this case. The friends of civil and religious liberty thought it necessary thus to act ; and believed they were admonished so to oppose, by the history of the church in preceding times. All sects of Christians have some forms in their religious worship. And it is better to observe, than to neglect them, unless they are very burdensome or ridiculous. But where they are numerous, we are prone to rest in the observance of mere ceremonies, to the neglect of vital piety and the weightier matters of the divine laws. The fewer and more simple the rites of religion, the more generally will its spirit and power be felt. The worshipper will be most likely to look into his own soul, and to consider the subject of personal religion, when not occupied by outward forms. And our puritan ancestors were probably as near to the primitive worship of apostolic times, as any.

If Dr. Mayhew was severe in his 'Defence,' in reply to the Examiner and the letter-writer, an apology for him may be found in the personal and uncourteous attacks made in those pamphlets on his character, as a heretic, and one who was fond of strife and dispute. The 'Answer' was written in a better spirit; and, though anonymous, was, generally, of a mild and courteous style, so as to induce Dr. Mayhew to consider him a gentleman. It was early supposed to be written by a dignitary of the church, but was not known to be from the pen of the archbishop of Canterbury till some time after the publication. Dr. Mayhew observes, that as a great part of the 'Answer' is of the same import as the 'Examination,' and the letter pretending to be a 'Vindication' of the conduct of the society, he should not notice all the assertions and statements in the 'Answer,' believing it sufficient to refer to what he before said in his reply to those writers. He believed he had already shown, that the conduct of the society of episcopalians in England, to propagate the gospel in this country, was, in many instances, a departure from the plain meaning of their charter, and an improper interference with the congregational churches in New-England. He had also made it most manifest that there had long been a design to support bishops in the colonies, in order to increase the influence and numbers of the episcopal church. And he had also shown that it was unjust to disturb the churches here established by the puritan fathers, which they believed most agreeable to apostolic times; and which he insisted was more in accordance with the forms of primitive Christianity.

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* The earl of Dorset, a judge of the star-chamber court, in the 17th century, and who sentenced Mr. Pym, merely for writing against the royal license for sports and diversions on the Lord's-day, to pay £10,000, to sit in the pillory, to be expelled the bar as a barrister, to have his name erased from the university catalogue, where he was educated, and to be imprisoned ten years, declared that nonconformity was a greater crime than adultery, drunkenness, or perjury. Similar declarations have been made by high-churchmen, in much later times. Profession and submission to church forms were more insisted on than a moral or holy life.

In fact, the writer of the 'Answer' had conceded so much, and so fully admitted the past improper conduct of the society, (through misinformation,) that Dr. Mayhew was not obliged, in his 'Second Defence,' to notice all the statements made by this writer. And it will be the less important to make very large quotations from his reply. And yet full justice will not be done to the character of Dr. Mayhew, as a writer, without some extracts from it.

'I observe, with reluctance, that there are some passages in this 'Answer,' which I am unable to reconcile with the apparent candor of the writer. He is pleased to say, that my 'Observations' and 'Defence' were written against the church of England in general, and against the plan of having bishops in the colonies, as well as against the conduct of the society. Now it must be evident to every candid person, that my principal design was to show the impropriety of the society's supporting missionaries in the old towns of New-England, instead of sending them to new and destitute settlements; and that I referred to the other topics only incidentally, as it were. This was mere inadvertence, or a design to keep the real question out of sight, or to engage the favor of all good churchmen, so as to have their prejudices raised, and to prevent them from judging impartially on the subject. His great object is to vindicate the church of England and the hierarchy. Some of my expressions, I admit, are too severe; and had all or most episcopalians the candor and apparent moderation of this gentleman, and some others of that communion, he would have had cause to complain. I agree with him in what he says of the intolerant spirit of former times, among all protestants. Would to God they might cultivate more of the true spirit of the gospel, without abating in zeal which is according to knowledge, for the indisputable doctrines and duties of Christianity, or degenerating into a state of indifference and skepticism about all religion.

'My sentiments, as to the constitution, discipline, and worship of the church of England, are no ways altered by any thing this gentleman has said. If the Lutherans prefer her communion to the Calvinistic, the Calvinist to the Lutheran, and the Greek church to both, (of which there is no proof, however;) or if most blame the dissenters for separating from it; still this proves not that her communion is the best. A true protestant judges, not by the majority of votes or numbers, but by reason and scripture. The gentleman says, I seem to have the worse opinion of the church of England, because the papists esteem it better than they do others. Truly, I can hardly think any church a pure or scriptural one, which has the esteem of so corrupt and antichristian a church as that of Rome—'the mother of harlots, and abomination of the earth.' And yet he says that the papists hate the church of England *more also*, as the greatest enemy to their cause, because it is the principal bulwark of the reformation. So that the gentleman seems to draw an argument for the excellence of his church, not only from the *esteem*, but from the *hatred* of that of Rome. Neither of which considerations has any tendency to make me think the better of her. Because this esteem of the church of Rome, on one hand, and her hatred on the other, are most naturally resolved into such causes, as are rather dishonorable to the church of England, than the contrary; her esteem, into the remaining similitude between them, and her hatred, into a rivalship for power, worldly splendor and pre-eminence. What the gentleman thinks the church of Rome esteems that of England for, whether her excellencies or blemishes, he has not told us. I am satisfied it is on account of the latter; and leave others to conjecture as they please. But he himself has observed, that the Roman catholics hate the church of England, considered as the most dangerous enemy to their cause. It is as natural for them to do so, as for one gaily attired lady to look with an evil eye upon another; especially, considering that the church of England has a mighty king for her head, and lays claim to some of the highest powers and prerogatives asserted by the other: 'power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.' Here is a foundation laid, broad enough to support almost any superstructure, though as enormous an one, as that which is raised on the supposed infallibility and power of St Peter's successor. Who, then, can wonder, if the church of Rome hates that of England, as a dangerous enemy and rival.*

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* The great objection to a national religion, or an ecclesiastical system established by law, to which all must conform, on severe penalties or disabilities, is, that it places in the power and keeping of mere politicians, and worldly, selfish men, the rights of conscience, checks all religious inquiry and improvement, and serves to perpetuate error, however absurd and corrupting. It is, in effect, a denial of the sole authority of our divine Lord, (in matters of religious faith and conduct,) who is the only teacher and master of Christians. It also operates unequally and unjustly on social rights. The archbishop of Canterbury said, that 'tythes were paid in England to the clergy, by virtue of grants, which laid that burthen upon estates, many ages before the present possessors enjoyed them, in the days of *popery*; and if that were not the case, it would be impossible now to obtain an act of parliament for the purpose.' And is not this an implied acknowledgement of the injustice, or great impropriety of such laws? And may not dissenters, on protestant principles, reasonably object to such a system? All which a national religion requires, is a public profession, and the observance of external rites and forms. The laws of man can enjoin

'And hath not the church of England acted as if she were really possessed of this extraordinary power and authority, respecting rites, ceremonies and controversies of faith? The gentleman, indeed, allows that the said church hath some appointments in it, which the scripture doth not require. This is candidly, though very cautiously said. But when he subjoins, a little after—'ours hath not many things of this kind, nor lays great stress upon them,' I am a little surprised: though, to return one of his compliments to me—'one must suppose that he *believes himself*, and, as *far as possible*, I would believe him also.' But it is no easy matter for a person, who duly considers the offices of baptism, confirmation, the Lord's supper, ordination, matrimony, and burial; the numerous fasts and festivals, saints' days and sinners, the creeds, the liturgy, and the canons of said church, in general; to think that appointments of the kind he speaks of, are not many, or that no great stress is laid upon them. Can any one live in regular communion with that church, without submitting to many such? Can people come into the world, tarry in, or go out of it—can they be born, live, or die, without them? And for how many things, which, to nonconforming understandings at least, appear extremely trivial, do the canons still in force declare that people shall be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated, and not restored till they retract their said wicked errors?

'The gentleman seems to think, that appointments of this nature, if they are not such as the scripture expressly forbids, though it doth not require them, ought to be complied with. In which I cannot agree with him; because though they may not be expressly forbidden, yet they are impliedly and by natural construction. The law of God may be in a great measure made void, by the traditions and numerous inventions of men in his worship, not one of which is, perhaps, directly repugnant to any particular precept. And it is said, partly with reference to appointments of that kind, which

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no more. In so far as civil governments require teachers of religion and morality for the people, they are just and reasonable in their requisitions; but they should not invade the sacred rights of conscience, nor make a particular speculative creed, or certain rites and ceremonies, essential, on pain of civil penalties or privations.

some think so innocent, comely and expedient—'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' Some of our English episcopalians have shown a laudable zeal, in this respect, against the church of Rome, for departing from the scriptures as the only rule of christian faith, worship and discipline; not, perhaps, considering how justly this charge might be retorted upon them, in a degree, by protestant dissenters. For example: 'The thing I would recommend to the consideration of all papists,' says a learned and able writer, 'is their departure from scripture. Why do they command abstinence from flesh, on so many days in every week? Why abstain from meats, which God hath ordained to be received by all with thanksgiving? Why is such a fast enjoined, as may be kept with drinking of wine, and other, even stronger liquors? I do not charge them with allowing of excesses in liquors, but with enjoining so many fast and meagre days, on a spiritual, not a medicinal account; and this, without authority from Christ or his apostles.' If such reasoning as this will hold good against the church of Rome, as doubtless it will, let it be fairly considered, whether it will not be unanswerable, if applied to another church, and fully justify a secession from her; especially if many of her appointments, on which great stress is laid, are apparently superstitious, and not only unscriptural, but anti-scriptural.

'I humbly conceive, the gentleman goes a little too far, when he intimates that there are similar appointments in all the churches in the world. I know of some churches, at least, in which there are none such. But if this were fact, it would be no justification of them; but rather a proof that all churches and nations have drank too deeply of a certain poisonous cup, and departed from the simplicity that is in Christ, and which was in the truly apostolical churches. Very great corruptions were introduced much earlier than many are willing to allow; and were confirmed even by general councils. For, to use the words of the same learned episcopalian divine, (to whom I just now referred,) in another important tract—'What have general councils been, (I speak of all universally from the council of Nice to the council of Trent,) but the meetings of corrupt, ambitious, intriguing, contentious men, who never once attempted to serve the cause of Christ, but themselves; who have ever, by fraud and craft, and cunning, aimed at superiority and power over those whom they had a mind to oppress, and who never attempted to establish the truth as it is in Christ; who have endeavored to gain a majority by art and power without regard to the bible, or what is there enjoined; who have always contended for some addition or other to the gospel, but never to leave the word of God to its own native simplicity; who, lastly, have wrested and perverted the scripture, but never have taught it pure and uncorrupted?*

'Indeed I well knew, that the king is the legal head of the church of England, that all her bishops and clergy take the oath of supremacy, and that they solemnly disclaim all spiritual power and jurisdiction, but as under, and derived from him. Of these things I intimated no doubt; but only, whether the said bishops and clergy were always consistent with themselves, in reference thereto; or whether they have not often claimed such an independency on the crown and state, as to show them very insincere in their oaths and subscriptions. And let those who are acquainted with the writings of many high-flyers, and their *jure-divino* pretensions, judge whether there was any disingenuity, or not, in hinting a doubt in this respect. Besides, the gentleman is mistaken, if he supposes I meant to draw an exact parallel between the churches of England and Rome. And if any person, of a tolerable capacity, could be supposed so ignorant and presumptuous as to undertake this, he would not, surely, compare an English archbishop to his holiness. An archbishop in the church of England is not equal even to a cardinal in that of Rome. Another person might, with much more plausibility, be compared to the pope, however absurd the comparison would appear, upon due examination. For is it not declared, (37. Hen. VIII.) that 'archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by and under the king's majesty, the only undoubted supreme head of the church of England, to whom, by holy scripture, power and authority is given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all vice and sin whatever; and to all such persons as the king's majesty shall appoint thereunto?' And is it not also declared, that 'all authority of jurisdiction spiritual, is drawn and deduced from the king's majesty, as supreme head, and so justly acknowledged by the clergy of these realms?' And have not the Roman catholics maliciously reproached the English nation with setting up, in effect, another pope, in opposition to him, whose supremacy they had renounced?

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* Scripture authority has little influence with ecclesiastical system-makers, or with those bound, by early prejudice and interest, to a particular creed. It was often said by the Roman catholics, and afterwards by English episcopalians to dissenters and puritans, 'As much scripture as you please, but no disquisitions.' Roman catholics always, and very often the most zealous members of the church of England, have been opposed to the circulation of the inspired scriptures, from a fear that their system may be found erroneous, and a pretence that the common people should place entire faith in their spiritual teachers.

'It is evident from our history, that, in arbitrary reigns and foolish and wicked administrations, the bishops have commonly been the most useful members, or instruments, that the crown or court had, in establishing a tyranny over the bodies and souls of men. But yet, when kings have crossed their ambitious and avaricious designs, they have been as forward as any men, if not more so, to give them disquietude. In the words of a spirited writer, well versed in matters of this sort—'Loyalty is not confined to the mitre. Bishops have given more disturbance, and occasioned more distresses to princes and people, than any other set of men upon earth. This I can prove. Our own bishops, for near an hundred years before the revolution, were in every scheme for promoting tyranny and bondage.' I can assure the gentleman, however, that my modesty is too great to propose such an alteration in the constitution as he speaks of; though I know it has often been wished by much wiser men; and, that such arguments have been used, as might, perhaps, puzzle one near as wise as himself to answer. The old cry, 'No bishop, no king,' has indeed been of mighty efficacy in times past. 'This solid argument,' says one, 'was used with royal success, by king James the first, when he sat deputy for the clergy, and disputed with the puritans at the conference of Hampton court. It was, indeed, the best he could use; however, he strengthened and embellished it with several imperial oaths, which he swore on that occasion, to the utter confusion of his antagonists, and the great triumph of the genuine clergy, and the archbishop; who bestowed the Holy Ghost upon his majesty, for his zeal and swearing on the church's side.' And few, I believe, can see the absolute necessity of bishops having a seat in parliament, except bishops themselves, and such as hope to be so.

'The gentleman is under some mistake in saying, I own that 'in three districts of New-England, (i. e., New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island and Providence,) much less care hath been taken for the support of a public worship, than in the rest; and that a few missions from the society might be needed in these.' Now Rhode-Island and Providence together, make but one district; I mean but one colony or government, and that a very small one; there being in all but four in New-England. In that, it was indeed acknowledged some missions might be needed. As to New-Hampshire, another small government, though I spoke of it in the former part of the Observations, as a government in which less care had been taken for the support of God's worship, than in the Massachusetts and Connecticut; yet I formally corrected my own mistake herein, where it is said, that in 'New-Hampshire there is a legal provision made for the support of a public religion, similar to that in those two other New-England governments.' So that, in the four New-England colonies, where the society have so many missions, only one very small one was actually destitute of a legal support for protestant ministers. And it seemed proper to set this matter in a true light, lest it should be supposed, from the gentleman's representation, that the greater part of the New-England missions were in places, where I had myself acknowledged, in effect, they were proper and needful: whereas there are near *ten* times as many in those three governments, in which I supposed them needless, as in the small colony of Rhode-Island, in which it was owned there might be occasion for them.

'The gentleman is displeased with me for attributing to the society a design to root out presbyterianism, &c., from the colonies, and to introduce episcopacy on the ruins thereof; and for intimating that it is partly at least with this view, that they have been sending missionaries to New-England. Now, I conceive that I produced clear and sufficient evidence of such a design. One thing alleged by me, to this purpose, was a standing instruction of the society to their missionaries, viz., 'that they frequently visit their respective parishioners; those of our own communion, to keep them steady in the profession and practice of religion, as taught in the church of England; those that oppose or dissent from us, to convince and reclaim them.' Though I before made no formal citations, to shew how assuming the missionaries were in this respect, he may perceive, by the following, that this was not said without grounds. In the abstract printed in 1739, (p. 46,) are these words: 'The reverend Mr. Usher, minister at New-Bristol, writes, Sept. 22, 1738, that, in obedience to the orders of the venerable society, he sends a true and faithful account of the spiritual estate of his parish. There are in it a hundred and fifty families, reckoning about four to a family, and fifty of these families are of his congregation. The other hundred families consist of dissenters, of various names.' New-Bristol was then reckoned to belong to the Massachusetts, but since to Rhode-Island government; both of them being in New-England. In the same abstract and page, it is said: 'The reverend Mr. Johnson, minister of Stratford in Connecticut, writes, Oct. 20, 1737, that, since his last, he hath one good family added to his church; that there are above three hundred families in his parish, of which sixty-one are of his congregation, the rest being generally independents or congregationalists,' &c. It is needless to quote other abstracts, for my vindication in this respect, though it were easy. The missionaries certainly knew that there were no legal episcopal parishes in New-England; and yet they write in this manner about their dissenting parishioners.

'To prove that the society had the design aforesaid, I also produced a passage from the historical account of the society, (1706,) which I considered as little or nothing short of a formal declaration from themselves, that what they had in view, in sending missionaries into these American colonies, was not merely providing for the people of their own communion, as this gentleman would persuade us, but also making proselytes to the church of England. The gentleman says, he hath 'not been able to procure this account, or to learn by whom, or to whose order it was compiled.' This is somewhat strange, from a person who sometimes speaks as a member of the society, and one who has had recourse to its books and records on this occasion. The said account itself is so very advantageous to the society, as to leave but little room for doubt in this respect. It appears to have been compiled and published by order, and in the name of, the society; particularly from the last page: 'Thus have WE given a true and faithful account of the society. And WE publish it to the world, not for ostentation of what has been done, but to show what a mighty trust is committed to US; how sincerely WE have endeavored to discharge it: how willing WE are to labor in the prosecution of it; and how much WE want a farther assistance and supply from all good and pious christians, who may depend on a just disposal of their charity, in promoting the best design in the world, that of the conversion of souls, by the propagation of the gospel,' &c.

'But the gentleman thinks that the passage to which I referred, in this account, is not to my purpose. He assigns two reasons for this, of the force of which the reader will judge, after I have cited the passage more at large, as follows: 'It was the unhappiness of New-England and the adjoining parts, to be first planted and inhabited by persons who were generally disaffected to the church by law established in England, and had many of them taken refuge or retirement in those parts, on account of their suffering for nonconformity here at home. So that they fell there generally into independent congregations. And there was no face of the church of England, till about the year 1679; when, upon *questioning* the charter of that country, the lord-bishop of London, upon an address from several of the inhabitants of Boston, did prevail with his majesty, that a church should be allowed in that town, for the exercise of religion according to the church of England; towards the maintenance of which, his late majesty, king William, was pleased to settle an annual bounty of one hundred pounds a year, which is still continued, and two ministers are now supported in it. Several other ways of division and separation did so much obtain in other of our colonies and plantations, that this made it more necessary to think of providing for a regular and orthodox ministry, to be sent and settled amongst them; to remove those prejudices, under which the people generally labored, and to promote, as much as possible, an agreement in faith and worship, in order to the recommending our holy religion to unbelievers.'

'Dr. Bearcroft, in a sermon before the society, laments that though the government in New-England had indeed taken care for God's public worship, and erected schools for the education of youth; yet this was not according to the true orthodox principles of the church of England. And after speaking of their charity, in attempting to bring back their brethren in America to *good manners*, &c., how does he glory in it, that 'the word of God mightily grows and prevails in New-England, *according to the liturgy!*' Both the conduct of the society's missionaries here, and many of their letters published in the abstracts, clearly show that they consider it is one principal part of their business, in compassing sea and land, to make proselytes from among us. And though it were allowed that the society had it really much at heart, that we should be convinced and reclaimed, and all become episcopalians; yet it would not be easy to show what methods they could have used, more adapted to, and more clearly declarative of, such a design, than those which they have actually taken. Neither Mr. Apthorp, nor my very *candid* (New-England) Examiner, so far as I can at present recollect, pretended to disown that the society actually had this design, but seemed rather to justify it, as what the society had a right to attempt, if not by the most obvious scope of their charter, yet by virtue of the discretionary power therein granted. And it is well known that many episcopalians among us, have asserted this to have been one primary, original design of the institution; being, as I suppose, ashamed either to deny a thing so manifest, as that the society were actually endeavoring to accomplish it, or that they had not good authority to do so, by their charter.

'The gentleman says, 'Without maintaining that the people of New-England have no gospel ministers, or sacraments, or ordinances, or churches, we *may* apprehend, whether justly or not, is not to be now disputed, that episcopacy is of apostolical institution,' &c. It is true, they *may* apprehend so; for what are not people capable of supposing, however groundless? He adds: 'We *may* apprehend that, after the ceasing of extraordinary spiritual gifts, forms of prayer were also used, more or less, throughout the church of Christ, and are needful for the observance of the scripture rule, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.' ' This also they *may* apprehend. But if those extraordinary gifts ceased as early as many suppose, I presume the gentleman can bring no proof that forms of prayer were introduced from that time, or even till long afterwards. As to the scripture rule, which the gentleman speaks of, respecting decency and order; if forms of prayer may be supposed to come under it, so as to be needful for the observance thereof, why may not the sign of the cross also? Why may not square caps, or any usages in the worship of God, which fanciful men think conducive to order and decency? Where will people stop, in introducing their own inventions, in this lax way of expounding scripture rules? Or what bounds will be set to their censoriousness, if they allow themselves to censure those who decline the use of any uninstituted modes and forms, which they conceive to be decent and orderly? I am, indeed, myself far from being zealous against all forms of prayer, as such. But, to suppose they are necessary, that God cannot be orderly and decently worshipped without them, or that it is sinful to decline them, is highly unreasonable and superstitious.

'The gentleman sometimes argues, that the society has formed no such design as I have supposed, from this circumstance, that they did not send missionaries *earlier* into New-England, when there were but *few church people* here, and consequently *more need of missionaries* than afterwards, if making proselytes had been the point in view. This is more plausible than solid. They may be supposed to have had the said design before they sent missionaries to prosecute it; waiting only for a favorable occasion and opening. It would have been a romantic, Don Quixote enterprise, for them to send missionaries hither for that purpose, before there were a number of people ready to receive and embrace them. They must have some footing, some ground to stand on, in order, by their engines aforesaid, to shake this part of the earth; and they were not, I conclude, such strangers to the art and principles of Archimides, as to attempt it without. Nor does it appear, but that the society embraced the first opportunity that offered, to establish missions here. It is, I think, sufficiently plain, that they had the design aforesaid, as early as their account was printed, (1706.) But even though it could be proved, that they had it not for several years after the first missions, it will not follow that they have not formed it since; being encouraged by the increase of the episcopalian party here. And such a design might very plausibly be carried on, under the notion of *only* providing for those episcopalians, who could not, with a good conscience, attend on the administration of God's word and sacraments in our way. But enough of this.

'The gentleman speaks of orthodoxy, heterodoxy, and heresy, in opposition to what I said concerning the terms 'orthodox ministers,' in the charter; which I supposed, stand there in opposition to Romish priests and jesuits only. But he, it seems, thinks orthodox ministers can mean only those of the church of England, in opposition to those of all other denominations, even among protestants. It is only from this sense of the terms, that he can deduce any consequences to the advantage of his cause. But he has offered nothing in confirmation of it, which appears to me of any weight. I am, therefore, content to submit this matter to the judgment of our impartial readers, without adding any thing farther upon it. But I cannot but take a brief notice of one or two personal reflections on myself, in this part of his performance. He has, without grounds, and very ungenerously, represented it as my opinion, that whoever dissents from me, in any point relative to christian faith, is an *heretic*. And what a candid use he would make of this remark, appears from his words immediately following: 'His New-England brethren, if indeed they will acknowledge him for a brother, are desired to consider the consequences of this way of thinking. *We* have not so learned Christ.' Now, I am very far from thinking all those heretics or heterodox, who dissent from me in any point relative to christian faith. I have never given the least occasion for such an aspersion. There is, I believe, no professed Christian, of any denomination, less disposed to entertain hard thoughts of other people, merely on account of differences in opinion, relative to points of faith, or who has been more remote from censuring and reproaching those who think differently, as heterodox or heretical; neither of which opprobrious epithets is, in my opinion, properly applied to any, but those who pertinaciously deny some one or more of the most plain, indisputable, and important doctrines of the gospel. It is thus that I have learned Christ, and the spirit of his religion. And whereas the gentleman intimates, that they of the church of England are not accustomed to censure as heretical, or rashly to judge and condemn others; let the Athanasian creed, and the canons of said church, (according to many of which, people are to be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated for mere trifles,) witness how very unlucky he was in setting up those of that communion, for patterns of christian forbearance, or a catholic disposition; unless to catholic we prefix another epithet, very often joined therewith. In this, and several other places, the gentleman insinuates, plainly enough, that I am a heretic myself, and so accounted by my brethren, if indeed they will at all acknowledge me for a brother. This piece of scandal was taken up, as I suppose, upon the credit of some of the profligate writers who have lately appeared against me in New-England. It is no honor to this gentleman to repeat it after them; nor would it be at all to his advantage, if one were, from such passages only as this, without considering the general tenor of his writings, to conjecture how he himself has learned Christ. And these reproachful inuendoes I take to be the less ingenuous, and more injurious, as coming from him; because, if I have received unfraternal treatment from a few of my brethren, (as indeed I have,) this was chiefly because I was supposed, whether truly or not, to approach too near, in some of my religious opinions, to those of certain of the most eminent bishops and other divines of the church of England, who were despite-fully treated as heretics by many of their brethren; and whose names will be remembered with veneration, when those of their supposed more orthodox revilers will either be forgotten through contempt, or remembered with execration, like those of the Lauds and Sacheverells of former times. These personal reflections of the gentleman, seem to me quite unworthy of his pen; especially since I think them unworthy of a more particular reply from so mean a one as mine. The gentleman blames me, in the page last referred to, for intimating that our congregational ministers generally adhere more closely to the doctrinal articles of the church of England, than even her own clergy do. 'We can only deny the charge,' says he, 'and put him on the proof, as we do.' To which I shall only say, at present, that I appeal for the truth of it, to the sermons, &c., published by them respectively; not thinking it worth while, by making large extracts from each, to swell this publication, in which I aim at brevity.

'The gentleman says, 'The society hath always been desirous to know, when any congregation became able to support itself without their help. If their friends have been too slow in giving them intelligence, (which may have happened,) and the Doctor will favor them with any, which, on inquiry, shall appear to be well grounded, they will both be thankful to him, and shew the world that they are far from wishing to increase the church party by profuse liberalities.' This is very candidly said, and I take the gentleman at his word, though without flattering myself, that I can ever merit the thanks of that venerable body, however ambitious I may be of it. The people of the church of England in Newport, on Rhode-Island, where the society have long had a missionary, are numerous, and very wealthy. There are but few churches or congregations, of any denomination, in America, so able to maintain a minister as this. I give this account upon good authority; and particularly upon the credit of a gentleman of principal distinction, belonging to that congregation, who, since the publication of my Observations and former Defence of them, gave me this account in conversation. He also frankly owned, that he looked on the society's continuing to support a minister for them, (at Newport,) as an evident misapplication of their charity; and not the only one of the kind in New-England. Without speaking at present of any of the episcopal congregations in Connecticut, let me just observe, that the good people of Christ's church in Boston, though not so rich or numerous as those of the church at Newport, are yet, without doubt, more able to support a minister, than divers of our congregational churches in this metropolis. And if supporting a missionary for them, be at all an abuse, considering their own ability and the exigence of other places, the abuse is still the greater, because there are two other churches of England in the same town; which churches are neither so remote, nor so *thronged*, but that the people of Christ's church might be accomodated in them; if not with such high pews or seats as they might possibly choose, yet such as I should think humble and good Christians would rather take up with, than either violate their consciences by going to dissenting meetings, or receive the society's charity, of which so many other people stand in far greater need. If the venerable society should condescend to pay any regard to these representations, either some other person, or myself, may probably be encouraged to mention other instances of abuse, of a similar nature. But this I can hardly hope, when I consider what treatment the representations of other nonconformists have met with in times past. This gives me less ground to expect thanks, than either silent neglect, or blame and reproof.

'What follows, in several pages, relates to the piety and good morals of those in general, who, from among us, become proselytes to the church; to the reformation, or better state of religion here, compared with what it formerly was; and to the extermination of a spirit of persecution in the New-Englanders; all attributed by Mr. Apthorp, and by this gentleman after him, to the increase of the church of England here. The whole of which, to one who has a right understanding of things and facts here, must appear such a *jest*, that he can hardly speak seriously about it. And yet I will not now venture to speak merrily or ludicrously of it, lest I should again displease this good gentleman, who is already disgusted with me in that respect; thinking it a proof that I have not a duly serious heart. For it is upon this occasion, that he says: 'What the Doctor's countenance is, I know not;' [none of the most *jocular*, I can assure him!] 'but I wish he gave as good proofs of a serious heart, as the missionaries generally do.' And can it be wondered at, if these reverend gentlemen, who received the Holy Ghost at their ordination, by means of the hands or breath of a bishop, should have more serious hearts than a person who has had only what thorough-paced churchmen account lay-ordination, in one of those unconsecrated places, in which some zealous episcopal divines have supposed the Holy Spirit never was.* And yet I cannot think, with this gentleman, that speaking jocosely about some sacerdotal superstitions, rites, and forms, is a proof that a man hath not a serious heart. But some men conclude all those profane and impious, who have not the same reverence for such things that they have themselves, or that they would have the common people entertain for the honor of an establishment and the hierarchy.

'The gentleman briefly mentions the good ends proposed in having bishops in America. These are, in substance, the same with those which are more distinctly mentioned in the abstract, printed in 1715, and which are chiefly these, viz.: 'To rule and govern well those people who are desirous to be committed to their charge; to defend and protect both the clergy and the laity; to unite the clergy themselves, and reduce them to order; and to confirm new converts from schism;' "that the laity who have been initiated into the christian faith by baptism, may not only have the benefit of confirmation; but also in conjunction with the rest of the members of the church in those remote parts, be partakers of the benign influences of the episcopal function;" 'in ordaining ministers from amongst themselves; in confirming weak brethren, and blessing all manner of people susceptible of such holy impressions as are made by the imposition of the bishop's hands.' As these are the reasons for bishops here, which the society has published, it may be concluded this gentleman approves them all, though he has not so particularly mentioned them. It might be thought foreign, perhaps presumptuous, distinctly to examine the force of them; how much the episcopalians here, need to be well ruled and governed; how much both the clergy and laity need defence and protection against nonconformists; how much the clergy need to be united, and reduced to order. I was going to say something about the confirmation of new converts from schism, and of other weak brethren and sisters; the necessity of having episcopal ordination here; the benign influences of episcopacy in general; and of the blessings which all manner of people, susceptible of such holy impressions, might receive by the imposition of the bishop's hands. But I forbear; and the rather, because I might probably express myself in such a manner as to confirm this gentleman's suspicion about the seriousness of my heart. For I am so conscious of my own infirmity, as to be almost certain that I could not speak of these things with quite so much gravity and solemnity, as he would think proper, in treating of matters so sublime, mysterious, and sacred. They are therefore passed over with a bare mention.

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* This was said, by a great and zealous churchman, of the dissenting meeting-houses. Dr. Cutler expressed the same opinion.

'If bishops are sent to America, they must be well supported: this is beyond doubt. By whom; or by what means? I suppose there is not yet a fund provided by legacies, near adequate to the support of one; it not being a small matter that suffices such dignified and apostolical persons. The society will, probably, think this burthen should not lie upon them; as they are not able to support a sufficient number of missions among people whose necessities are great and urgent. Is it likely, then, that the British nation, so deeply plunged in debt, and in which there is scarce a possibility of laying any new taxes, will undertake to maintain bishops for America? No, surely. Will the bishops and rich clergy in England do it, out of their abundance? This is at least as improbable; especially since it is supposed that many of them cannot, to this day, be entirely persuaded, but that it is rather more blessed to receive than to give. Will American bishops, then, trust to the generosity of the people here; depending upon providence and alms, or, in other words, upon the good will of the Americans? Will they be content without reaping any other carnal things here, than what the people may judge an adequate recompense for the spiritual things sown by them; particularly, (since bishops seldom preach,) for confirming weak brethren, and for those holy impressions, made by their hands, on all manner of people susceptible thereof? If this is all, or the principal part of what they receive, their maintenance will not probably half satisfy them; except perhaps at first, while 'wonderful effects are expected from their blessing and the benign influence of their function.' Nor will they run this risque, unless they have more faith in God, and less love to the world, than most of their order have had, since Constantine the great became the nursing father to the church, and the pious, maternal council of Nice suckled her with the clear and pure, the uncorrupt and 'sincere milk' of *homoousianity*,* that she might 'grow thereby.' Can there then be a more probable supposition than this; that in consequence of the episcopal party's increasing in these colonies, and becoming a majority in the legislatures, the church of England would be established by provincial laws, and the people in common taxed for the support of bishops and their clergy? Have we reason to think that, from brotherly affection and tenderness for schismatics, they would exempt them from bearing a part of this burthen? I wish there was not more reason to apprehend, that they would oblige nonconformists to bear a double proportion of it, not to be sure out of any enmity, but only as an instance of wholesome severity, and a probable means of bringing them into the bosom of the church.

'The principle I contend for is this; that 'all members of every church, are, according to the principles of liberty, entitled to every part of what they conceive to be the benefits of it, entire and complete, so far as consists with the welfare of civil government.' It is readily owned, that our apprehension of what may possibly or probably be the consequences of bishops being sent hither, ought not to put us on infringing the religious liberty of our fellow subjects and christian brethren, if they will pardon this freedom. Neither have we any power to do so, if we were unreasonable and wicked enough to desire it; our charter granting such liberty to all protestants. But the episcopalians here may enjoy this liberty, as they now do, without bishops in America, though under some inconveniences; principally, perhaps, for want of holy impressions made by their hands in the ceremony of confirmation; their lack of which, it must be owned, is sometimes but too visible in their behavior. We are, therefore, methinks, very excusable, if we express a reluctance at the proposal of a scheme, which we really apprehend may bring great trouble and temporal inconveniences upon us, and be the source of much division, discord and confusion; especially, if it be also a scheme tending to promote that particular mode or profession of Christianity among us, which we cannot but think, on the whole, much less conformable to the gospel, and therefore less conducive to the eternal happiness of mankind, than that which at present generally prevails among us.

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* [See note at page 324.] Polycarp, a disciple of the apostle John, in 120, says, 'By Christ we have received the knowledge of the true God.' And Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, in 170, teaches, instead of many persons or beings, who might justly be called gods, one God and Father of all, and his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, who was the image of God, and who was qualified to reveal his character and will. The learned Origen says, 'We adore one God, and worship Him alone, following the example of Jesus Christ.' When accused of idolatry and polytheism, the Christians, in the third century, said, 'Let the world take knowledge, that we profess faith in only one God, and Him we worship.' Justin, the martyr, says, 'I would not have credited Christ himself, if he had preached any God but Him, who is the Creator and Governor of this world, and all things else.' This was in reply to the Gnostics, who made several subordinate deities; one the maker of this world, and the God of the Jews; and another called Monogenes, only begotten; Protogenos, first begotten, &c.

'I have thus freely and fully laid open my thoughts, such as they are, respecting the New-England missions. I have also explained myself, as to the proposition concerning bishops in America; and though not so fully, yet more particularly than I intended to do; having been almost compelled to it, at once by this gentleman's formal attack upon a few expressions which occasionally dropped from my pen, and by his great courtesy in attempting to propose my objections distinctly for me, because he thought I was a great deal too vehement to do it myself. By what has now been said, he may perceive, at least that he has not wholly dissipated 'the poor man's fears,' either by his reasoning or rallying on the subject. I have attended to his serious request, at the conclusion of his argument—'If he is still dissatisfied, I intreat him to consider, for all men ought, what manner of spirit he is of.' Still dissatisfied I am; and, I hope, from such a spirit as he will not wholly disapprove, however wrong he may think my opinions—from a love to truth, cultivated in my early days—from a love to what I take to be the most primitive Christianity—from a sincere concern for the welfare of my country—and an apprehension that this scheme of bishops, if put in execution, will be greatly detrimental to it, both in civil and religious respects. This, I think, is the spirit from which my dissatisfaction chiefly arises. The gentleman has doubtless well considered from what spirit it is, that he is so much set upon this scheme of bishops; and it would be very uncharitable in me to conclude it a bad one; as I do not, whatever I may think of the scheme itself. However, I think it but justice to him to acknowledge, that if such a scheme as he has proposed were to be put in execution, and *only* such consequences were to follow, as he professedly has in view, as the ends aimed at, I could not object against it; except only upon the same principle that I object against the church of England in general, and should be sorry, from a regard to what I suppose a more scriptural way of worship, to see that church prevail here: which yet, I solemnly declare, I would not prevent, though it were absolutely in my own power, by any methods inconsistent with that full, entire liberty in religious matters, which I desire for myself; and which all men, whose principles or practices are not inconsistent with the safety of society, have a right to enjoy. Thus far I have the honor fully to agree with this gentleman.

'I hope I have not treated the gentleman with any rudeness or indecency. There is much good sense, good temper, candor, and christian catholicism discovered in various parts of his tract. The venerable society, I believe, never had so able, and never will have a more able, defender. He has, I think, once or twice expressed himself *civilly* even of me, though never without blaming me at the same time. I would not be wanting in a suitable return. But if it so happens, that the necessary consequence of attending to any gentleman's reasoning, is his appearing sometimes in a less advantageous light than at others, it is not difficult to see where the blame lies. Nor is the difference small, between going out of one's way, on purpose to give murderous thrusts to the reputation of a writer, and barely not preventing him from being too careless of it himself, and using it very unkindly, by undertaking to defend what is not defensible. This performance is, doubtless, in all respects, much superior to any of those which first appeared against the Observations in America. And, upon the whole, by what I can learn, it is written with too much catholicism, and too little rancor against me, to be generally acceptable to the episcopalians among us; which are probably the chief reasons why there was so much difficulty in obtaining a subscription for reprinting it in Boston.

'But though there is too much charity and moderation discovered in many parts of this tract, to please the taste of some among us; yet, methinks, the gentle author has, at times, when off his guard, used me in such a manner as might almost have satisfied them; and possibly, upon a review of some passages, they may have an higher opinion of this performance in that respect; among which, I beg leave particularly to recommend to them the following, all relating to me and my Observations. 'He contents himself with—reproachful names, and ludicrous representations; a likely method to please the prejudiced, and lead the thoughtless along with him.' 'What he means—besides indiscriminate abuse.' 'Had better judge by the experience of others, than by his own heated imagination.' 'He hath not explained what his own [*trade*] is: but certainly reviling his brethren is a very bad one.' 'Some persons are strangely subject to violent gusts of passion—his malady hath a deeper root in his frame, and influenceth him more constantly.' 'An artful design to procure himself a dispensation for his outrages.' 'Frequent effusions of a bad spirit in his work.' 'Place some part of his religion in railing at episcopalians.' 'According to the old custom of his party—of discharging misapplied texts of scripture in the faces of such as happened to offend them.' 'The poor man's fears, if you will believe him, run to vastly farther lengths yet.' 'So pathetic a rant on so darling a subject.' 'Wit and archness—would have been too great a sacrifice [for him] to make to dull truth and fact.'

'These and some other of his *compliments*, however agreeable they may be to others, I own I do not very well relish myself; and the less, because they may possibly serve, in some measure, to keep in countenance my American antagonists in this controversy; who have observed no measures in their abuses and invectives. But I can bear, without returning, such language as this; especially as this courtly gentleman intimates that these freedoms should not be imputed to any unkinder motive than that of showing me to myself; and that, if I amend upon admonition, so tenderly administered, I may be entitled to some respect. I desire to amend all my faults, which are far, very far, too many. Nor will I deny, but that I am in some measure desirous to procure respect, by fair and honorable means; especially respect from a person, for whom I have so sincere a one myself, as I have for my kind admonisher.

'The gentlemen, after having spoken of me in such terms as the aforesaid, is so charitable as to make an apology for me, by observing, that I seem to have naturally a most vehement spirit, and to have imbibed, perhaps in my early days, equally vehement prepossessions against the very name of bishops, and every thing connected with them. 'I am sensible,' adds he, 'that these things plead in his excuse,' &c. My natural temper is, perhaps, too warm; and I own that, early in life, I imbibed strong prepossessions against diocesan bishops; i. e., if a full persuasion, the result of free inquiry and reading, that their order itself is unscriptural, and that they have generally been a pernicious set of men, both to church and state, may properly be called prepossession. And if these things plead in my excuse for any unwarrantable expressions used by me, I am much obliged to the gentleman for his candor in suggesting it. What his own early prepossessions might possibly be, in favor of episcopacy, and some things connected with it, I forbear to conjecture; lest I should fall into a mistake that might be offensive to him; which I choose to avoid. If the gentleman labors under any natural foible, similar to that which he supposes in me, I am extremely desirous that he should reap all the advantage from it, as a plea in his excuse, that he charitably proposes I should reap from mine; and so, while he is far happier in many excellencies, may also have more cause to glory in his infirmities. But if, on the contrary, he is naturally of a cool, dispassionate temper, though I sincerely congratulate him on his felicity in that respect, yet I cannot but express my sorrow, that this puts it out of my power to return his civility, by making as handsome an apology for some expressions that have escaped him, as he has made for some of mine.

'I am, indeed, even literally a 'poor man,' as this gentleman calls me, I suppose in another sense: and, in that respect, I have been publicly upbraided by some of the very decent writers against the Observations; nor has even the honest, irreproachable memory of my father wholly escaped their insults. However, through the goodness of God, and the generosity of his people, I have a comfortable subsistence, with contentment; which, if but attended with integrity and godliness, is all the gain that my soul aspires after in this world. Let me add, on this occasion, that I had much rather be the poor son of a good man, who spent a long life and his patrimony in the humble and laborious, though apostolical employment of preaching 'the unsearchable riches of Christ' to poor Indians; and one, as I suppose, now at rest from his labors, with the 'spirits of just men made perfect;' than even the rich son and heir of one who had, by temporizing in religion and tampering with politics, by flattering the great and prostituting his conscience, made his way to a bishoprick, and the worldly dignity of a peer; how large a *bag* soever he had carried with him through a life of idleness and pride, of intrigue and luxury, or left behind him at death, the black period of all his greatness and glory.

'Plausible colors may be put upon almost any thing, however false or wrong in itself, by men of great ingenuity, and fine sense. But plain, common sense, with a competent knowlege of facts and circumstances, (which, to be sure, is the utmost that I can pretend to,) and much more an equal capacity on the side of truth and right, will ever have the advantage in an argument. This will, commonly at least, be able to shew that round is not square, or black white; to strip a bad cause of the ingenious glosses put upon it; to puff away the dust, and brush off the flimsy, cobweb reasonings that are spread over it to keep it from appearing what it is.

"'That which is crooked cannot be made strait.' I will not apply this; it will be done by others, if it is in any measure applicable to the case in hand. But to draw to a close of these remarks:- Having, for some years, been not unacquainted with the religious state of New-England, nor unknowing to many transactions relative thereto; I have sincerely aimed at setting things in a true light, as to the missions here. A child may hold a candle to a man, or a weak and simple man to a wise one; and thereby be of service to him, while employed about matters of great importance and difficulty. If any thing has been offered by me, which, from the nature of it, justly claims attention, I hope it will not be entirely disregarded, on account of any disagreeable appendages. If I have said nothing that deserves any regard, I beg the venerable society candidly to excuse my well-meant officiousness; as, also, to pardon any expressions used by me, which may seem not sufficiently respectful. I think, whatever faults I may have, (would to God they were much fewer!) I am not of a temper deliberately to justify any thing too hastily said or done by me, after being convinced of the error. Though I may be thought to have said some harsh things about the members of the church of England, and am often blamed in that respect by my worthy answerer; I have repeatedly declared, and again declare, that I highly respect and honor many of them, as persons of great probity, piety and goodness; particularly among those who were educated in that way. Whatever my opinion may be of the constitution and worship of said church, I should be extremely glad to see a friendly, obliging intercourse preserved between her members among us, and people of our own persuasion. And notwithstanding I am taxed with being uncharitable to, and vehement against them, I can say with the sincerity becoming a Christian, that, whenever I happen to have any concern with any of them, who appear to me to be persons of principle and candor, not over-bearing and assuming, but willing to treat nonconformists as their fellow-christians and brethren; I take a very particular pleasure in showing them all the tokens of affection, esteem, and honor. But—I say it at once with grief and reluctance—I have much seldomer found persons of this character among them, than I could have wished to do; and contempt and disdain on one side, very often produce the same on the other. However, I recollect a very just observation of the gentleman, to this purpose, that 'people of different religious sects, and parties may think much too ill of, without at all wishing ill to each other.' Both these are faults, which ought to be carefully guarded against. If I have ever fallen into the first, I hope I am not chargeable with the second; which is far the most criminal and inexcusable. I likewise hope we shall, on all hands, as far as possible, put on that charity which thinketh no evil; which suffereth long, and is kind; which envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; which doth not behave itself unseemly; rejoiceth not in iniquity; but rejoiceth in the truth. No one can read the sacred oracles, unless he is spiritually blind, without clearly seeing, that though we had all faith, as well as all knowledge, so that we could remove mountains, as well as understand all mysteries; though we had, also, the tongues of angels, as well as of men, and declaimed ever so loudly with them, either for or against any particular church; and yet had not charity, we should be but empty, noisy formalists in religion; mere sounding brass, and tinkling cymbals. And the words with which this gentleman concludes, though he may be but a layman, are certainly worthy the pen of the most eminent bishop in England, not excepting even his grace the metropolitan and primate of ALL England; whose christian moderation is not the least shining part of his respectable character: 'It is the duty of all men,' says he, 'how much soever they differ in opinion, to agree in mutual good will, and kind behavior.' Would to God that all bishops had, and that all protestant bishops, at least, would preach the same good doctrine, and practise according to it! The former might, in a great measure, have prevented uncharitable divisions in the christian church: the latter might go far towards healing the present animosities among protestants, and lead them to unite in love, and point their force against infidelity on one hand, and popery on the other—both how necessary!

'And thus I take leave for the present, I hope forever, of this controversy, of which I am heartily weary; though not from a conviction that I have been on the wrong side, in any material point. If any person, without having something that is both new and weighty to offer upon it, shall write and publish, merely for the sake of having the last word, I beg to excuse myself from being his opponent. I will not contend with him for that point of honor; especially if he will be so ingenuous as to own that he writes for that end. The author is not solicitous on whose side the last word is, if barely the truth is on his. If, by anything hereafter published, he should be convinced that he has been materially in the wrong, he will publicly acknowledge it; and give the venerable society all the satisfaction in his power. But one who has written so much upon the subject already, may surely be contented hereafter with only thinking himself in the right, without again telling the world his opinion. And if he had used as much art on one side, as some persons have on the other, and played the hero as successfully as they seemed very sure they had done, he might not improperly put a period to this second, and, as he hopes, last defence, with,

—— 'Hic Victor cæstus *artemque* repono.'

But, instead of that, he submits the whole, with all proper deference, to the judgment of the reader.'

The year after the reply of Dr. Mayhew to the archbishop, Mr. Apthorp published a 'Review' of the controversy, which he had himself provoked by his 'Considerations,' containing heavy and unjust charges against all dissenters and nonconformists, and insisting on the superior authority of the English hierarchy to decide in all religious and ecclesiastical concerns. In this pamphlet Mr. Apthorp referred to all the publications on the subject; and professes to be impartial. Yet he is pleased to express himself thus: 'People of our (episcopal) communion, are frank and sincere; detesting all *hypocrisy;* are *elegant* and *polite* in their manners; which the *gloomy* and *fanatical* look upon as worldly and voluptuous.' 'I would not wish for any other union of the dissenters with the church of England, than a voluntary one—the result of a hearty approbation of HER *doctrines, polity,* and *forms* of worship. And the support of a communion in the colonies *with our church,* is the only way of *combining them into one national church, on the gospel maxims of christian unity;* as well as to attach them firmly to the mother country. And how can there be any hope of *religious,* or security for *political union,* but by the natural influence of the *church of England?* To effect this most desirable object, has not been the *formal* end and design of the society, though its missionaries have, incidentally, laid a *foundation* for it.'*

'In the course of sixty years,' says Mr. Apthorp, 'an hundred churches have been built in the colonies; and I cannot but think that, at this time of dissension, and enthusiasm, and irreligion among dissenters, the increase of the church of England, which so happily tends to union and uniformity, will be for the advancement of *truth, order,* and *liberty.* For the plan for bishops in America, (he adds) is agreeable to the *simple* model of *ancient* and *moderate* episcopacy.'†

Mr. Apthorp seems here to have fully admitted all that Dr. Mayhew had asserted, as to the ulterior views of the episcopal clergy, in supporting missionaries, and in proposing to have bishops in New-England. And the extracts given by Mr. Apthorp, from the bishop of London's sermon before the society, 1764, though designed as a defence of the conduct and objects of the English church and government, but served to confirm the suspicions and fears of Dr. Mayhew, and other sincere dissenters. 'If the wisdom of government, while endeavoring to make the colonies a strength and security to *our own country*, shall find the state of religion such as to require attention, it will not be thought an improper expression of our hopes, that *provision* will be made for a more *regular* exercise of discipline, and for the administration of rites and offices in *our* church, which, being derived from the *earliest* ages of Christianity, require a *superior order of clergy* to perform them aright.'

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* And this was all Dr. Mayhew asserted or contended for. It was not a *formal*, professed, but an *insidious* design of the society to form a national church here, according to the forms of the episcopal church in England; and this for political objects, as well as for bringing all the *wandering* dissenters in subjection to the English hierarchy.

† A candid confession—but really a severe reproach on the established hierarchy of England, partly political, and of unscriptural ranks of clergy, and of popish rites and forms.

There was an expectation, with a portion of those who had attended to the controversy, that Dr. Mayhew would take public notice of the 'Review,' by a formal reply. But he determined otherwise. And it is believed that the greater part of the intelligent and judicious approved of this decision. He did not, therefore, take any public notice of the 'Review;' and thus showed an unwillingness to keep up a dispute, after all the purposes were answered. His reasons for declining to write any more on the subject, are stated in a letter to his friend in England, at the time, April, 1766, a short time before his death, from which the following extract is given:

'In truth, I was sufficiently weary of the controversy, as I intimated at the close of my 'Second Defence,' [the remarks to archbishop Secker.] Not that I thought I had a bad cause to manage; but because I had written three large pamphlets upon the subject. Accordingly, I signified in the last of them, that I should publish no more upon it, unless something both new and *material* should appear on the other side. In the opinion of several gentlemen here, for whose judgment I have much regard, as well as in my own meaner opinion, there was nothing in Mr. Apthorp's 'Review,' which deserved that character, or merited a particular reply. Neither, indeed, could I learn, that even the zealots of the episcopal party here considered it as of any consequence, unless it were merely as the *last word;* an honor of which I was not ambitious. I had little or no hopes of convincing those who remained unconvinced after reading my three tracts upon the subject of missions. I was not such a salamander as to choose to live long in the fire of controversy. Besides, it was so long before the said 'Review' appeared in this country, that the subject of it had almost become stale. It had ceased very deeply to engage the attention of either party.'

In answer to a letter from Dr. Mayhew, of 1764, thanking Mr. Hollis for several valuable and rare books, and for causing his 'Defence,' &c., to be published and circulated in England, (after referring to the political state of that country,) Mr. Hollis says:—'Your remarks in reply to the archbishop, are truly masterly; only you have shown him too much civility—an error, indeed, on the right side. For he never *assumes* candor, but for a purpose—for a mask.' A few weeks later, and while Dr. Mayhew's reply to the archbishop was in the press in England, Mr. Hollis again wrote Dr. Mayhew:—'I have read your remarks a second time, and like them greatly throughout, except where you compliment your answerer for candor and sincerity; which I impute to your not fully knowing the character of the writer.'* Two months after the above, Mr. Hollis wrote Dr. Mayhew, as follows:—'Some have supposed the 'Answer' to your 'Defence,' &c., was the production of Dr. Burton, treasurer of the society, though with marks of the archbishop's hand. But I am confident it was written wholly by the archbishop himself; and contains, not so much a defence of the society, as of himself, so far as he could make it. But

'Evil on itself shall back recoil.' '

Dr. Caner, then rector of the church of King's Chapel, Boston, and who was probably one of the writers of the 'Candid Examination' of Dr. Mayhew's 'Observations,' sent the latter a copy of Mr. Apthorp's 'Review;' but Dr. Mayhew seems to have taken no notice of it. And Dr. Caner afterwards wrote Dr. Mayhew, that Mr. Apthorp considered himself ill treated by some severe remarks in the 'Observations.' To which Dr. Mayhew replied, that he 'cherished no feelings of enmity to Mr. Apthorp,' and that the personal remarks had reference to the assumed and dictatorial authority with which he had written; that he intended not to charge Mr. Apthorp with any immorality of conduct, any farther than that he thought it inconsistent with a candid and christian spirit to make misstatements, (from mere common report, and for party purposes,) as he had done, respecting the opinions and condition of the people in New-England, and the true and original design of the society. This he thought, when he wrote first on the subject, and still thought, very unjustifiable in a christian minister.

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* The biographer of Mr. Hollis says—'Dr. Mayhew was a most worthy man, and sincerely attached to the liberties of his country, and to the protestant religion. He was also void of all controversial gall; and therefore very candid in his reply to the archbishop.'

It was said by the biographer of Mr. Hollis, of London, long the friendly correspondent of Dr. Mayhew, and even till the death of the latter, that the reply to the archbishop's pamphlet was one of the most masterly performances which ever appeared on that or any similar subject; and that the sympathy and friendship, between Mr. Hollis and Dr. Mayhew, could surprise no one, who well knew the character of the archbishop, as well as the union of effort and design between the high-church party and the tory party of that time. Mr. Hollis had long known the character, and watched the aspiring, worldly views of Dr. Secker, and his early attempts, through Sir Robert Walpole, to obtain a royal order for supporting bishops in America. He perceived the plan of governing the colonies, as proposed soon after the peace of 1763, by arbitrary power, was to be aided by the influence of the clergy; and that these, in their turn, would favor the political views of government, for the sake of obtaining an influence and control in ecclesiastical concerns.

In a letter from Rev. Mr. Hobart, of Fairfield, Connecticut, (who has already been mentioned,) to Dr. Mayhew, October, 1764, he observes:

'As I have an opportunity this day, by my son-in-law, Mr. Isaac Lothrop, of Plymouth, I write to acknowledge your favor by Mr. Burr; though I am not, at present, able to furnish all the information you desire. There are six episcopal missionaries in this county, and fifteen in the whole colony.* I have endeavored to learn the strength of their several places of missions; and thus to be able to state how many of these might support their teachers themselves. By the best account I can obtain, I am confident the most of them are able to support their own clergymen; and therefore have no need of the funds of the society for the purpose.'

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*There were eight in Massachusetts at that period; and all in old towns.

Mr. Allen, of Philadelphia, some of whose letters have already been given, wrote Dr. Mayhew, in October, 1764, as follows:

'I return my thanks for your letter by Mr. Clarke, and for your congratulations on my return from England. While there, I received but two of your agreeable letters, with some of your valuable publications, which, I assure you, have given me great pleasure; especially the last piece, in answer to his grace's performance. I rejoice that the dissenting interest has so able an advocate; one who can, with spirit and clearness of argument, refute that specious performance, as I think I may justly call it: for it is written with great art, I had like to have said, *craft*.' [The remainder of Mr. Allen's letter relates to subjects of a political nature respecting Great Britain and the colonies, the dispute between them having begun that year, and Mr. Allen having then just returned from England, on public business; and to the dissensions in Pennsylvania at that time, about titles of lands.]

The following is from Rev. Mr. Towgood, England, April, 1766.

'Having an opportunity of sending by Mr. * * * * *, I readily embrace it, to acknowledge your favor of November last, and to return you my hearty thanks for your kind intention of sending me your 'Second Defence' and remarks on the London 'Answer.' I was not so incurious, or so uninterested in the debate, as not, long since, to have read them with a satisfaction not easily to be expressed. Your discourse against popery,* I shall be thankful to receive, as I know not how else to procure it.

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* Probably Dr. Mayhew's discourse, at Dudleian Lecture, on the idolatry of the church of Rome, delivered in May, 1765.

'The London answer to your 'Observations' which is here generally ascribed to the archbishop of Canterbury, was drawn up with much art, and was as masterly a performance as the cause would admit. But it gave me great pleasure to see its specious, fallacious reasonings so solidly confuted, and with such decent freedom exposed. Apthorp's 'Review,' I think you very justly neglect.* For what can the man do who comes after the king?

'I congratulate you, most heartily, sir, and our fellow citizens in the colonies, on that spirit which the great Father of spirits has raised up in your favor, in the late dangerous crisis. Perhaps the reluctance you have shown to have the episcopal bits put into your mouth, may have hastened your being saddled with that disagreeable tax.† If that order of men had been established, you would probably have found, not only the saddle fixed, but riders also mounted on you. How seldom has that order been favorable either to the religious or civil rights of mankind.

'The Supreme Disposer be praised that the storm is so happily overpast! May his providence ever blast the designs of the crafty; and long continue to you that freedom, which so brave and loyal a people deserve!

'We think we see a flourishing and great empire rising up on your continent; where civil and religious liberty will be better understood, and more fully enjoyed than it ever has been on this side of the Atlantic.‡ You must increase, but we must decrease.

'But considering the immense and tremendous debt under which the mother country groans, and the height to which almost every thing is taxed here, perhaps neither generosity nor justice, will suffer the colonists to complain, if, in some other way, their helping hand should be called for, to lighten the heavy load.

'Bigotry, among all parties, I hope is rather on the decline. May genuine, real, rational Christianity revive in proportion.

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* Dr. Mayhew considered it unnecessary to notice Mr. Apthorp's 'Review;' as it contained no new arguments, and no new facts.

† Stamp act, probably, which was passed in the spring of 1765.

‡ One living seventy years later, is still anxious for the result; and ready to pray that such anticipations may not be blasted.

The better Christians we are, the more, I am sure, we shall bear with and love one another. May heaven prosper your endeavors to kindle and spread this happy temper among men. Your letters, through whatever channel of conveyance they come, will always be received with great pleasure by, dear sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

'MIC. TOWGOOD.'

The Boston Gazette noticed the 'Observations' of Dr. Mayhew, and his 'Defences,' in a style of commendation; and made large extracts from them. And Rev. Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. A. Eliot, spoke of them as able and seasonable performances.

A writer in a London paper says:—'The stamping and episcopizing our colonies were understood to be *only different branches of the same plan of power.* For the stampers, it was sufficient to procure the sanction of law, after which all reasoning on the equity of the measure might be spared. But churchmen, who cannot always carry their points with the tranquility that statesmen do, are expected to prepare the people for the reception of their impositions, by something which has at least the appearance of reason. It is a hard necessity, indeed, and liable to many inconveniences; for as they are obliged to wear a mask of piety and moderation, some impertinent examiner is often mischievous enough to shove it aside, and expose the naked countenance of the orator to the view of the rude multitude. A certain North American, (Dr. Mayhew,) who carried his reflections deeper than the surface, fairly accounted for the increase of popery in England, by referring to its being tolerated, and even *favored more than the dissenters.*

'The application of this reasoning was too fatal to American episcopacy, to be passed by, where tory churchmen had so precious a morsel in view. And, accordingly, a reviewer was set to work,* who made it his business to show, that proselyting was not a peculiar part of the duty of bishops; but was more properly the work of the inferior clergy; and that the bishop's functions consisted in ordaining, in confirming, overseeing, ruling, &c.

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* Mr. Apthorp, who published a 'Review' of the controversy in 1765.

'As this poor sophistry is calculated to cover the shameful neglect of counteracting the efforts of popery, as well as to countenance the impolitic scheme of episcopizing America, the following remarks are offered for your paper. The answerer of Dr. Mayhew, (the archbishop of Canterbury,) appears to be a far more able writer than Mr. Apthorp, and to have no occasion of his aid to explain his meaning, or to strengthen his arguments.

'Misrepresentations are of two sorts—when an author's words are strained to a different sense from what they naturally and evidently mean; and when they are glossed into a softer or better sense than they obviously import: and, in either case, the common reader is imposed upon. It remains, therefore, for the reader to judge, whether the misrepresentation of the answerer's words is not greater, on the part of Mr. Apthorp, by excluding the business of making proselytes from the functions of popish bishops, than on the part of Dr. Mayhew, who thinks that proselyting, as well as other functions, is included in the exercise of the powers and duties of popish bishops; and that episcopal bishops, supported in America, would do likewise.'

In another English paper, at this time, the London Chronicle, are the following paragraphs:

'There are those who lurk behind the curtain, who have been long waiting to oppress the colonies; who, though they have been balked in their aim in the stamp act, are unrelentingly bent in forging *church* chains for them; that, after these, they may more easily slip others about their necks, of another kind; and thus make way to slip them about our own at home. * * * * *

'*Patron of America*, as the late patriotic commoner* has been addressed, by no venal, mercenary pen—the excellent Dr. Mayhew—it is hoped he will not be wanting in his endeavors still to prevent a *lordly prelacy* setting its foot on that continent. He is said to be no stranger to the *holy book*, in which such high-sounding titles of pre-eminence and worldly power, in the teachers of its truths, are not known, or are discountenanced and condemned. He must also have read Locke on toleration; and he will certainly, then, reverence the religious, as well as civil rights of mankind; and will not tamely see them surrendered, to gratify ambitious and worldly priests, or to enrich time-serving and ravenous politicians.'

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* This alludes to Mr. Pitt, to whom Dr. Mayhew dedicated his sermon on the repeal of the stamp act; and who had accepted a title and pension, but who still remained a friend to the liberties of America.

It is believed that some further extracts of letters to Dr. Mayhew, from Mr. Hollis, expressive of the opinions of the latter on the merits of the writers in this controversy, will afford satisfaction and interest to the reader.

'I hear that some severe strictures are soon to be published, as an answer to your 'Observations.' When the tract appears, I will forward you a copy. It is probable that the writer is some creature, or tool *direct*, of the archbishop; or some formalist, who yearns after preferment, and seeks it hard, by writing after the manner and spirit of his chief. And many things may be written, by a learned, artful man, in such a controversy, not altogether without speciousness and plausibility.'

In March, 1765, Mr. Hollis addressed a long letter to Dr. Mayhew, partly on political subjects, and mentioned more books intended for the college library, in which he also says: 'I learn that Mr. Apthorp has just arrived from America; who, I consider, was set as a spy, by the archbishop, on you and your congregational brethren and churches.' And Mr. Hollis intimates that Mr. Apthorp was driven out of America, by the judgment and energy of Dr. Mayhew. 'I am assured,' adds Mr. Hollis, 'that, at the motion of the archbishop, it is entered in the books of the society, that no more missionaries will be soon sent to New-England. I suppose no new missions will be established there. What the archbishop has done, or rather undone, is merely to save appearances, and is very inconsiderable. If he is truly honest and sincere, he will take away the greater number of missions in New-England.' The biographer of Mr. Hollis adds:—'Of these missions, Mr. Hollis certainly judged right. Never was there a greater error in politics, than the institution of the society for propagating religion in America, with a pretence of civilizing and christianizing the savages of that country. For it was soon after found expedient to encourage the missionaries to convert the non-episcopalians to the church of England: and this work not proceeding with the success expected by archbishop Secker and his adherents, the project of sending bishops was adopted, and eagerly pursued, which only served to increase the jealousies of the colonists, already but too justly suspicious that the ruling powers of the mother country looked upon their growing prosperity with an evil eye.'

The biographer of Mr. Hollis thought Dr. Mayhew was unduly anxious to learn the opinion of the reviewers in England on his reply to the archbishop; and intimates that possibly he expected too much praise. But he observes, also, that one review and several London papers had spoken favorably of Dr. Mayhew's pamphlet; while the Critical Review could not well be expected to commend it. As to this review, he says, 'any man of common sense may take his *entertainment* from it, just as it may please or displease him. It did not require the sagacity of *the wise men of Boston*, to discover its political attachment, both from internal evidence and the external marks in the forehead of the creature who began the work. They have kept steadily to their professions, in every thing but to their *motto*. But this malignity has been more than once useful to their foes, as well as acceptable to their admirers.'

In a letter from Mr. Hollis to Dr. Mayhew, at about this time, (1765,) the following paragraph is contained, referring to the subject of episcopacy in America:

'I wish your Mr. Otis could be induced, in his bold and able manner, to write on the episcopizing scheme in America. And the rather, as it is reported that the advocates for it are more active and sanguine than ever; and have had the art to engage some of our statesmen to be as deeply for it as themselves; as an event *necessarily* connected with that system of politics which they have adopted, and which is alone within the compass of their abilities and virtues.'

The biographer of Mr. Hollis refers to several letters which passed between the latter and Dr. Mayhew, in the course of the year 1765, but gives the contents of very few; which relate to books sent to Dr. Mayhew by Mr. Hollis; to political subjects, then becoming more deeply interesting to the patriots in Massachusetts, as well as the friends of liberty in England; and to the character and intrigues of archbishop Secker, who is represented as a very artful and ambitious man, of a very worldly spirit, and seeking his own benefit, rather than that of his country or of Christianity. Mr. Hollis seems to have considered the archbishop entirely destitute of principle; and is so severe in some of his remarks on his character, that it appears like the influence of prejudice. And yet Hollis had no rivals and no enemies among good men; and was wholly devoted to private concerns, or to such as had for their object the advancement of literature, of civil and religious liberty, and the best interests of humanity.* Mr. Hollis and Dr. Mayhew continued their correspondence till the death of the latter, in July, 1766; but it was principally on political subjects after the beginning of the year 1765.

Perhaps enough has been offered to show that Dr. Mayhew's fears were well founded, of the evil designs of the English hierarchy towards the dissenters in America, and of the danger to the civil and religious liberties of the colonists, from the plans and efforts of the high-church, united with the tory party; and that he was therefore fully justified in publishing so much in favor of christian liberty, and in detecting the usurpations and claims of the English church. The opinions of several other learned and impartial individuals might be presented, to the same point. But it shall suffice to add to what has been already offered, some of the remarks of governor W. Livingston, of New-Jersey, a very distinguished character and writer; and of Rev. Dr. A. Eliot, of Boston, on a sermon of the bishop of London before the society, in 1740. Dr. Eliot ranked high among the eminent clergymen of his day; and was said by some to be a man of more prudence, if not so much ardor and talent, as Dr. Mayhew. This is the more important, as it will serve to prove that Dr. Mayhew did not needlessly engage in the controversy. Rev. Dr. Chauncy, Rev. Dr. Stiles, and others, might be brought forward with their opinions on this subject, but it would be unnecessary to quote them.

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* To his love of liberty and his regard for the interests of good learning and liberal Christianity, as well as to his great esteem for the character and writings of Dr. Mayhew, we must attribute his seeking the correspondence of the latter, as well as his generous and frequent presents to the library of Harvard college. He says, in one of his letters: 'I send you Milton, Sidney, Locke, and Harrington. Read them and profit by them. And may God still bless you with liberty, and learned and virtuous guides.' In another letter to Dr. Mayhew, he says: 'I sincerely desire the liberty and welfare of New-England. I believe they are, generally, especially in Massachusetts and in Boston, the most intelligent, sober and moral people in the world.'

Governor Livingston published a letter, in 1767, addressed to the bishop of Landaff, who preached before the society, in England, 1766; in which the bishop recommends the keeping up of episcopal missions in the colonies, and also provision for supporting bishops, to rule and oversee the churches here. 'My curiosity,' he says, 'led me to read your discourse; and you will excuse me for saying that the perusal of it excited, at once, my indignation and sorrow: my *indignation*, that any one should have so grossly abused your lordship's confidence, by the most unparalleled misrepresentation of facts; and my *sorrow*, that a person of your lordship's good sense, should have placed any confidence in so impudent an informer. For, indeed, I question whether there is a pamphlet in the nation, which, in proportion to the length of your sermon, contains so great a number of *aberrations from the truth*.'

Governor Livingston notices the gross mistakes of the society, (arising, probably, he says, from the misstatements of their missionaries and other selfish individuals of the church of England,) as to the state of religion in the colonies, their religious institutions, and the religious character of the people, generally, and especially in New-England; which were most injurious to this country and its inhabitants. The people in the colonies are represented to be ignorant, irreligious, licentious and semi-barbarous. And all this is said as an excuse for supporting episcopal missionaries, and to provide for maintaining bishops in the colonies, to enlighten, to civilize, and to christianize (i. e., to episcopize,) the poor, illiterate, unchristian population. These charges are met by a proper expression of indignation by governor Livingston; as well as of his surprise that the bishop should be so much deceived.

'Your lordship is pleased to say,' the governor adds, 'that provision has never been made, since the settlements in North America, for ministers necessary for the support of the christian religion among those who have removed there, especially in the British colonies. This is directly contrary to the truth. As to many of the colonies, they exceed, probably, in such provision, all other parts of the christian world. Particularly in the New-England colonies, from their first settlement, they have been very attentive to make the most ample provision for a learned gospel ministry. And in consequence of this provision, by the divine blessing, Christianity has not only been supported, but so faithfully taught, that I venture to affirm, *there is not a more virtuous, or religious people on the face of the earth.* I have satisfactory evidence for believing that they surpass, both in religious knowledge and practice, those who have the gospel under all the advantages of a legal establishment, and are basking in the full sunshine of episcopal pre-eminence. Nay, I doubt not your lordship would be convinced, that though millions are expended annually on the dignitaries of the English church, and notwithstanding the boasted advantages of episcopal ordination, the people of England do not outshine, in purity of morals, either the protestant cantons of Switzerland, the republic of Holland, or the churches of Scotland; all which, however, know nothing about episcopacy, except as the American colonies do—I mean, at a comfortable and convenient distance.'

Further extracts from this letter of governor Livingston, might be interesting; but they must be dispensed with. His representation goes fully to support the statements given by Dr. Mayhew, in his 'Observations' on the conduct of the society, and in his first and second 'Defence.' Dr. Mayhew is entitled to the merit of taking the lead in this just apology or defence of the New-England churches, when open or insidious attempts were making to encroach on their liberty and independence; with the exception, perhaps, of Rev. Noah Hobart, of Connecticut, who had previously published some remarks on the conduct of the episcopal society in England, and of its missionaries in the colonies.

In 1767, Dr. Andrew Eliot also wrote some strictures on a discourse of the bishop of Oxford, (afterwards, archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker,) delivered before the episcopal missionary society in England, several years before. Why he did not make these strictures at a more early period, does not appear. Probably the alarm was not so great, as at the time he wrote them; for several events occurred, about that period, to excite the fears of the New-England churches and people, generally, respecting their liberties, both civil and religious. The bishop said, in this sermon, 'it was first necessary to inspect the state of religion, (i. e., of episcopacy,) in the colonies; the early inhabitants of which carried but little sense of religion; and their descendants have much less still; scarce any thing remains but the name. Such was the state of things in most of the colonies; and in all it was lamentably bad.' 'All this,' says Dr. Eliot, 'is finely *imagined*, (though destitute of truth,) and the better adapted to perfect a plan for supplying the colonies with episcopal missionaries.

'The society, therefore,' says the bishop, 'had often sent over missionaries to perform the offices of religion for and among the people; and schoolmasters, also, to teach the children the first principles of it, who have made a great change in the face of things.'*

'At this period,' says Dr. Eliot, 'there were fifteen missionaries in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and only two in North Carolina, where the whole population were almost entirely destitute of religious teachers.

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* Who that reflects on the early and continued care to have a learned clergy and able teachers of youth in New-England, by the government and people, can avoid an expression of astonishment at such a statement!

'The late excellent Dr. Mayhew,' says Dr. Eliot, 'has given a just representation of facts; which has been published in England; and his reasoning on them is unanswerable.'

'His lordship,' says Dr. Eliot, 'asserts that their missionaries have made a great change in the face of things, and laid a noble ground-work of what may be hoped will be carried on to perfection. There is, at present, no great appearance of a ground-work,' Dr. Eliot adds, 'on which the episcopal hierarchy can be erected. And if this is the fabric which it is hoped will be erected and carried on to perfection, we in our turn hope, that the descendants of those excellent and heroic men, who first settled New-England, will never forget the glorious errand of their fathers; but will stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.'

Dr. Eliot also states, that 'the bishop considered it proper and important for the society to locate episcopal ministers where there were but few episcopalians, and who might easily attend worship in the congregational forms;' and that 'the missionaries advised episcopalians not to go to such places of worship, but to solicit a missionary from the society, which would be readily granted.

'The congregationalists have a right to consider themselves as the established order; and they have as much right to tax those who dissent from them, as any other church has, in another country or nation. Nor would episcopalians have any more reason to complain than the dissenters in England have. But I will not labor this point; for I am no advocate for the establishment of a particular form of religion. All such are contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and to the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world. I desire no law to tax episcopalians for the support of any ministers but their own; and think it would be an honor to the nation if all such burthens were removed from the dissenters in the parent country. Whatever were the early laws of Massachusetts, in this respect, they are now favorable to episcopalians and all other denominations.

'His lordship expressly asserts, that what we call the established church in this province, we call so without right. Yet, in many of our laws, our congregational churches are said to be established by the laws of the province; and, in the very act which exempts episcopalians from taxes, the churches here are called the churches by law established; and the members of the church of England are excused from paying taxes for building of meeting-houses, erected for the use of the established church in this province. Nor have these acts been negatived or disapproved by the king.

'But burdens are laid on dissenters, not only in England, but in some of the colonies, especially in New-York, where all denominations are required to pay for the support of the episcopal clergy. And this is done, under the pretence that the church of England is the established church here. The church of England, then, has an *exclusive* right to lay burdens on all who dissent from her! Wherever she gains the ascendency, all must be taxed for her support; but the members of that church must never be taxed for the support of any other minister! Beware, ye who have not yet submitted to the yoke!—beware, ye inhabitants of New-England, whose predecessors left their native land, and ventured into the American deserts, that they might enjoy that religious liberty, which was there denied them! You have reason to fear the prevalence of a church, whose members hold such exclusive and intolerant principles, and where they have the power to practice on them. Watch against her encroachments. Can any wonder that you fear the approach of a bishop? If one is introduced, a way must be provided for his support. And every art will be used to prevail with the legislature to impose a tax on the whole people, for his *honorable* maintenance. And the bishop of Oxford tells you that 'the law of the kingdom obliges *equally* to the church of England, as to the *christian religion;*' and that 'none will be taught Christianity by our care, but as professed by the church of England; that is, we consider those not of the established church, equally needing the instructions of our missionaries as heathens, and others without any religious teachers.' In 1733, the society greatly increased the number of their missionaries in New-England, on the earnest request of the *principal people*, as pretended; and because 'they were without public worship, and deep ignorance prevailed among them.' One of these places was Scituate, in

Massachusetts, where there were then two able and worthy congregational ministers. 'I should be extremely sorry,' adds Dr. Eliot, 'for any measure which would create new jealousies in the provinces; but this should certainly be the effect of sending a bishop at the present time.'

Dr. Eliot refers to the conduct of Rev. Dr. Cutler, just deceased, but then late of Christ church, in Boston, who was one of the five ministers in Connecticut, who sent in their adhesion to the church of England, in 1722; and who was soon after placed in Boston, the most populous town in all New-England, as a missionary for the episcopal society in the parent country; and who, according to Dr. Eliot, Dr. Colman, and others, was an aspiring, ambitious character. He claimed, of *right*, a seat in the board of overseers of Harvard college, because he was a clergyman in Boston; and, as he was not received, became hostile to the institution, and to the whole body of the congregational clergy. It was Dr. Cutler who was reported to have declared, 'that, *ordinarily*, there was no salvation out of the communion of the episcopal church; and that none but an episcopally ordained minister could perform any religious offices, with validity and effect.' He also presented his diploma for a doctorate from Oxford university, to the president of Harvard college, and demanded to have it recorded; in which was this offensive phrase:—'Cumque nobis compertum fuerit egregium hunc virum, apud anti-episcopales nutritum, postmodum agnito errore in ecclesiæ anglicanæ sinum se recepisse, et eadem de causa, a suis multimodis contumeliis e injuriis vexatum esse.'

CHAPTER X.

Rev. John Cleaveland's pamphlet, against the sentiments advanced by Dr. Mayhew, in his discourses 'On the Goodness of God'—Dr. Mayhew's Answer, or Rebuke to Mr. Cleaveland.

While Dr. Mayhew was engaged in the controversy on episcopacy, he was attacked by Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, of Ipswich; who published strictures on two sermons preached in December, 1762, by Dr. Mayhew, on occasion of the annual thanksgiving. These discourses were on 'the Goodness of God;' showing its character or nature, and its extent. They were published early in 1763; and about a year after Mr. Cleaveland's strictures issued from the press. They were so feeble in argument, so uncandid and censorious in spirit, so gross in misrepresentations of the meaning of the discourses, and so coarse in personal remarks, that Dr. Mayhew might have disregarded them, without the charge of being unable to answer them, or as being beneath his notice, on account of the personal attacks. But, no doubt, he thought it due to truth, and to a vindication of rational Christianity, to take public notice of Mr. Cleaveland's book.*

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* Mr. Cleaveland was a follower of Whitefield, but not of great abilities or learning. He was some time a student in Yale college, but did not receive a degree there. Indeed, he received some censure or rebuke while there for irregularity: and, as he could not add A. M. to his name, he used V. D. M.! He was believed to have consulted some of his friends in Connecticut, when writing his pamphlet; for he spent some time there a few months before it was published. Rev. Andrew Croswell, minister of a society of separatists, School-street, Boston, examined the press for Mr. Cleaveland; and it was generally supposed, also, that he assisted in preparing it. He was a great stickler for orthodoxy, and an open, noisy opponent of Dr. Mayhew; and in other respects of a similar character to Mr. Cleaveland.

The reason avowed by Mr. Cleaveland for attacking these discourses, was, that Dr. Mayhew's statement, as to some of the most important doctrines of the protestant reformed churches, and received by the New-England churches, was injurious; and that some things advanced were, in their tendency, subversive of the *orthodox* faith—as total depravity, the vicarious sufferings of Christ, personal election, and irresistible grace in conversion—then taught in the calvinistic system of theology. Mr. Cleaveland appeared to be much alarmed, lest the peculiar tenets of Calvin should become unpopular and discarded. He saw that these scholastic dogmas were irreconcileable with the divine goodness, as stated and illustrated by Dr. Mayhew. And he seemed to be quite as anxious to support the former as the latter. In giving his own views of the divine goodness, his design evidently was so to state it, as to prevent its militating with his own orthodox creed. And, in order to make it appear that Dr. Mayhew denied what he called the doctrines of grace, he often *partially* quoted and misrepresented Dr. Mayhew's opinion, and addressed the prejudices of the ignorant.

It was certainly true that Dr. Mayhew's sentiments, on the effects of man's apostacy, on the degree of human depravity, and on the atonement by the death of our Lord, were different from those then called strictly orthodox. And the doctrine of the trinity, as taught by the Athanasian and Nicene creeds, he entirely rejected; though he believed Christ to be, in a high and peculiar sense, the Son of God—in some sense a divine person—and the Savior as well as teacher of man.

Dr. Mayhew, as observed above, was supposed to be disinclined to engage in a dispute with Mr. Cleaveland; and when Mr. Cleaveland's pamphlet was published, Dr. Mayhew was preparing a reply to the archbishop of Canterbury. He had never attempted to disguise his sentiments, or to disavow what he fully believed to be agreeable to reason and scripture. But Mr. Cleaveland misrepresented his views, materially, on several points; whether from design or want of discernment, was, with some, uncertain. A reply, therefore, seemed to be called for. And a most able, severe, and, in some parts, sarcastic reply it was. For he fully proved that Mr. Cleaveland had misrepresented his views; and often had done this with manifest design; for which Dr. Mayhew retaliates, by using some hard language and personal remarks towards his opponent; while he covers him with shame for his prejudices and weakness. This may also be justly said of some of the remarks of Dr. Mayhew, in his dispute with Mr. Apthorp and the writer of the 'Examination.' It was the character of Dr. Mayhew, while he was mild and candid towards the illiterate and the humble, if well disposed and ingenuous, to be bold and severe in his rebuke of the assuming, the hypocritical, and the dogmatical and censorious. Perhaps he sometimes erred, in this respect, as it regards the christian temper of meekness. But some men are not to be made reasonable, or argued out of their folly and arrogance, but by severity of remark, and a bold exposure of their hypocrisy and injustice. St Paul dared say to a Jewish high priest, when ordered to be smitten illegally, 'God shall smite thee, thou whited wall.' And he, who was the most perfect pattern of meekness, and who, when reviled, reviled not again, when wickedly accused of being in league with Satan, after all his miracles of mercy, said, 'Woe to you, hypocrites! how can you escape the damnation of hell? Woe unto you, pharisees, hypocrites! you make prayers for a show; you enlarge the borders of your garments; you love the highest places in the synagogue; you devour widow's houses; therefore you shall receive the greater condemnation.'

Had Mr. Cleavland met Dr. Mayhew fairly, on scripture ground, and not misquoted and misrepresented his discourses, his treatment would, no doubt, have been different from that which Dr. Mayhew gave him: for he was a real protestant in spirit and principle; and appealed to the sacred scriptures, in the due exercise of reason, for obtaining religious truth. But, as Mr. Cleaveland accused him chiefly of departing from the commonly received system of faith, devised by fallible men; failed to draw his arguments from scripture; and, appealing to the prejudices of the weak and ignorant, represented Dr. Mayhew as an heretic, and even an unbeliever; one cannot be surprised, that the latter was severe in his reply. He felt that he had the same right to interpret scripture, as Mr. Cleaveland, or his great oracle, Calvin; and he had much more regard and respect for the plain truths of the gospel than for any human system. He abhorred hypocrisy of every kind; and was indignant when men sought shelter for their folly or weakness, in the schemes formed in the dark ages, by bigotted and fallible men. It is true, however, that some persons thought Dr. Mayhew was unnecessarily severe, in certain parts of his reply; while others, equally candid and liberal, have believed the nature of the attack fully deserved the severe reply given.

Dr. Mayhew called the essay of Mr. Cleaveland 'a defamatory *libel;*'* and he said, 'If I ever engage in a formal controversy with any person, it shall be with one who appears to me to have both a better head and honester heart than you have discovered in this specimen of your abilities, and your zeal for what you call orthodoxy. Yet I do not think it proper to be entirely silent. Though my sermons need no elaborate, argumentative defence against your impertinent criticisms, yet so much rudeness and insolence, so much misrepresentation and slander, falsehood and forgery, as your libel contains, should not, methinks, be passed over without some animadversions; especially, as it is probable many will read your essay, who never perused my sermons: and it is chiefly for this reason, that I give you and myself the present trouble: my principal aim being not to dispute with, but to chastize and admonish you, for your good, and to make you an example and warning to others. If, in doing this, I shall transiently touch upon the merits of the case, theologically considered, you are not to flatter yourself that I mean to controvert such points with you, whom I consider unworthy to be reasoned with about them, any farther than is requisite to show your dishonesty and wickedness with regard to them.

'If I had really published any materials in point of doctrine, let me tell you, Mr. Cleaveland, that you are a most unsuitable person to undertake a confutation of them, or to set yourself up for an author: though you say you have an undoubted right to do so. I am sensible that British subjects have an undoubted legal right to expose themselves in print, on politics, divinity, or any other subject; and if this is what you insist upon as a privilege, I would not, by any means, have your liberty or that of the press restrained. You speak of divines of indisputable ability, for such an undertaking as that of vindicating the truth against me. Can you, then, possibly think it became you, an obscure person, lately from another province, and one so unlettered as you are; an outcast from a college to which you were a disgrace; for some time a rambling itinerant, and promoter of disorders and confusion among us, so raw and unstudied in divinity; and one hardly ever heard of among us, but in the frequent reports of your follies, and extravagances; can you possibly think it became you to turn author on this occasion, and take this necessary work out of the hands of able divines, of dedefending the most important principles of the protestant religion against me? What an unaccountable vanity and infatuation was this! And you have passed an implicit censure on those divines, also, by saying, 'I marvel that some of our divines of great ability, have not attempted to vindicate the truth against him.' Is not this proof that none of our able divines thought there was any occasion for opposition to me?

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* With the view of making, at least something like a plausible case, Mr. Cleaveland misquoted, or partially quoted many parts of Dr. Mayhew's discourses; and thus made him speak, on the christian doctrines, quite differently from what he actually had done. The theological views of Dr. Mayhew did not materially vary from those of a large portion of the clergy in his time; though they were very different from the strict calvinists. His faith was truly *evangelical*, though not *orthodox.*

'If it were my intention to write to you as a scholar, logician, or divine, I would take some notice of the confusion and want of method, so apparent throughout your libel. But it is as much beneath me to play the critic on such a performance, as it would be particularly to expose the vanity of your criticisms on my sermons. Let me here just observe, that if I agree with you in so many things, as you say I do, this is better presumptive evidence that I am under some mistakes, than any which you have produced. For I can hardly suppose it possible for any one to be of your opinion in many points of doctrine, without being in the wrong as to some.

'But I will proceed to the main business of this letter, which is to set your falsehoods and evil surmises respecting my sermons, in some order before your eyes; and to administer the reproof and correction which you deserve ; or rather a part of it; for it is only they who hold the sword of public justice can punish wickedness to the extent of its demerits. Your wickedness, in this affair, appears written, as one may say, on your forehead—I mean in your title-page ; in which you represent me to the world, as an enemy to 'the most important principles of the protestant religion ;' particularly the doctrine of Christ's atonement ; and on which you say I cast 'injurious aspersions.' After the word *atonement*, you indeed insert these clauses, viz., 'as being absolutely necessary to the pardon of sin, consistently with God's infinite rectitude,' that you might have an hole to creep out at. But this will not serve your turn. You know in your conscience that I did not deny any necessity of atonement, arising from wisdom, fitness, the ends of government, or the moral character of God ; but rather said what implies it, as will appear to your confusion, unless you are past all shame. How then could you have the confidence, because my expressions concerning atonement do not exactly agree with yours, to represent me to the world as casting injurious aspersions on it ?—by which you doubtles intended something beyond a simple denial of it. Indeed, nothing is more manifest, than that it was your intention to asperse me, as an enemy to some of the most important doctrines of the gospel ; which you, accordingly, attempt to defend against the *supposed* 'injurious aspersions' cast on them in my sermons. You must be sensible that this is a high charge to be brought against one, who is, by his station and profession at least, a minister of the gospel. But I have the less reason to be uneasy at your dislike of my sermons, because I think it pretty evident you do not well like the text itself, in its plain and obvious sense ; or, in other words, that you do not really believe, 'The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies over *all* his works.' Had you believed this to be strictly true, I do not think you would have made such an outcry against those sermons.

'You are pleased to say, that my design evidently was to represent the divine goodness in such a light as to show there was no absolute necessity for the sacrifice of Christ, to make atonement, or to satisfy divine justice, in order to God's forgiving the sins of men consistently with his moral goodness.*

'I might remark, on this charge, that if I had asserted the non-necessity of atonement, or satisfaction, in order to the forgiveness of sins, this would have been no more than some eminent divines have done; even calvinistic divines, whom I suppose you account the most reformed of any. I will refer to only one, the famous Dr. Twisse, who was prolocutor of the assembly of divines at Westminster. And his opinion ought, perhaps, to have almost as much weight as that of Mr. Cleaveland, of Ipswich. In his defence of the doctrines of grace, he says, that 'God can forgive sins by his absolute power, even without satisfaction.' And again, 'That God can forgive sins, without satisfaction, by his absolute power, appears so manifest to me, that I should think it a point beyond all controversy.' And still further, 'If God cannot forgive sin without satisfaction, it is either because he cannot as it respects his *power*, or as respects *justice;* but neither of these can be affirmed.'

'It is here manifest, that this eminent *calvinistic* divine was full and positive in his opinion that sin might have been forgiven without any satisfaction; and particularly that the *justice* of God did not indispensably require it. If I had asserted the same thing, did it become you, I say *you*, Mr. Cleaveland, to inveigh against me for it, and to load me with so much obloquy? Could you not differ from me in opinion, and yet observe some sort of decency and modesty in your opposition? But let me remind you, that I did not assert the possibility of forgiveness without atonement. So far from it, that the manner in which I expressed myself on the subject, rather implied a moral necessity thereof in order to forgiveness. And surely you will not assert any other kind of necessity; or a natural one, as contradistinguished from moral. At least, I am persuaded that no man who understands what he says, supposes any other. That I denied

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'* The scriptures make use of no such language as Christ's *satisfying divine justice*. But I am not disposed to dispute about words. If they who use the phrase, mean no more by the satisfaction of Christ, than is implied in his sacrifice or atonement, I make no objection to it: but I have asserted the doctrine in my sermons, which have been so outrageously attacked.'

not such a necessity, but rather supposed it, will fully appear, together with your wilful falsehood and iniquity with reference to it.

'I must notice the method you take to prove that I had the design which you charge on me. You infer this from what I said of divine justice, as a branch of goodness: which opinion you suppose, but without reason, to be inconsistent with the doctrine of atonement. But what an iniquitous method of proceeding is this! On supposition I was mistaken about divine justice, (which I believe no one can show,) is this a sufficient ground to charge me with such a design as you speak of? This is the same kind of dishonesty that it would be in any one to accuse you of atheism, because he supposed some of your principles, pursued to their just consequences, would terminate in it; which probably may be the case. Yet I should think it injurious to charge you with a design to propagate atheism, while you profess the contrary, even though you have shown so little regard to truth and integrity, as you have done in many parts of your libel. One instance of this I must refer to.

'You insinuate that I hold every act of punitive justice in God to be intended for the good of the individual, on whom it terminates. Now would not any one, who never read my sermons, (on the divine goodness,) and took you for an honest man, conclude that I supposed it would be unjust for God to punish a sinner more than would be for his own good? Indeed, you say expressly, that, according to my principles, 'God would not be perfectly good, but cruel, if he should punish sinners any farther than could be for their good, or happiness.'

'Now, are you not ashamed, Mr. Cleaveland, of such prevarication as this? I did, indeed, compare God's acts of punitive justice to those of a wise and good earthly parent, or sovereign, who has always some good or benevolent design in punishing. But I expressly guarded, as you well know, against the supposition that *all* acts of punitive justice, whether in God or man, are acts of kindness to the suffering individuals. I said, in my sermons, (when speaking of the motive from which a wise and good parent punishes his children,) 'Is it not to reform and do them good; or, at least, with a view to the benefit of his other children, or those of his household, that they may be under due subjection? &c.—So that, in a good parent, there is no such quality as justice, really distinct from goodness; not even in punishing; for it is goodness which gives the blow.' This last clause you dishonestly introduce, as if I had not only used it expressly concerning God, but had thereby intended to assert that he never punishes a sinner *but for his own good*, in distinction from the public or common. And is not this a wicked, wilful perversion of my evident meaning?

'Speaking, just after, of a wise and good earthly sovereign, I said, 'he does not inflict punishments, but such as he considers needful for the support of his government; if not for the particular good of those who suffer, as in capital cases, yet for the good of his people in general, by way of example and terror, that good order may be preserved. So that, even in this case of capital punishment, the justice of the sovereign is not a quality distinct from goodness. It is goodness, or a regard to the common good, that takes off the head of the traitor,' &c.

'I observed, afterwards, that God is often represented to us, in scripture, under the characters of a father and a king; the wisest and best father, the wisest and best king. And, after quoting Heb. xii. 6—12, where God is represented as chastening us for our profit, I go on thus: 'No man will deny that God is at once just and good in these chastenings. Goodness and justice in him, therefore, are not to be considered as opposites. They may, in all other cases, be coincident; the latter being, perhaps, only a modification of the former, and tending to positive good—at least, the public or common.' And you know, Mr. Cleaveland, and have acknowledged, that I speak of the future punishment of wicked men, in the language of scripture, as eternal, everlasting, &c. How, then, could you have so much dishonesty and impudence, as to represent it to be my doctrine, or as implied in my doctrine, concerning divine goodness, 'that every instance of punitive justice in God is an act of kindness to the individual punished; or that God's end therein is the good solely of those on whom it is exercised?'

'Was not this very foolish, as well as injurious? For do you think you can make the world believe that I either asserted or supposed it was for the good of sinners themselves to be eternally punished? For shame, Mr. Cleaveland! What do you think of yourself? Or what opinion do you suppose the world can have, either of your sense or honesty, in this respect?

'You proceed upon the same known false supposition, when you so pertly demand, 'If God's punitive justice is positive kindness, or if all his acts of punishing are acts of positive kindness, how could the sufferings of Christ—the just for the unjust—be an effect of God's love and grace? Is it an act of mercy and grace to withhold from sinners an act of positive kindness?' Fy! Mr. Cleaveland. You know that, according to my principles, sinners may be justly punished, by way of terror and example to others, for support of government, order, and common good, though themselves are not benefitted, nor designed to be benefitted thereby. And Christ's atonement, or his suffering—the just for the unjust, or in the room, or stead of sinners—was not in order to their being exempted from any disciplinary correction, or medicinal punishment, for their real good; for thus the saints are corrected or punished, though Christ suffered for them; but in order to their being exempted from that punishment, to which they might otherwise have been subjected, to vindicate the honor of God's law and government; for the support of order, and therein for the good of the universe, which essentially depends thereon. And if these ends may be answered by the sufferings of a mediator or substitute, as I supposed, I hope you will allow it to be an act of mercy and grace to appoint a mediator to suffer, to prevent our suffering personally, by way of example and warning, as malefactors do in the case of capital punishment; though it would not be an act of mercy and grace 'to withhold from sinners an act of *positive* kindness,' or any punishment which is for their good; as you, at once with equal folly, effrontery and malice, suggest it would be upon my principles.

'You go on with your imaginary proof of the design imputed to me; but really only in further exposing the naughtiness of your heart. You say this design further appears from what Dr. Mayhew says, (page 64,) where he plainly intimates that there was no necessity of the atonement of Christ, in reference to any such divine justice in God, which must be satisfied by the sufferings or death of Christ, that men might be pardoned and saved; "such idea of divine justice must be wholly and forever excluded." The last clauses, with double commas, you cite as mine; though they are altered so as not to give your readers a true idea of my meaning. You have here the confidence to insinuate that I denied the atonement of Christ had any reference to the justice of God, the honor of his law and government; or was designed to exempt sinners from that punishment which must otherwise have been inflicted. This is your manifest intention: and yet it is absolutely false, and you know it to be so. You know that, in the places to which you refer, I did not speak of divine justice in general, as if Christ's sufferings had no reference thereto; but only of a particular notion of justice, as if it were in nature wholly and absolutely distinct from goodness; for which I suppose there is no foundation in reason or scripture. But instead of fairly quoting my words, you had the dishonesty to mutilate them in such a manner, as to give your unwary readers quite a wrong conception of my meaning; as if I had, in general terms, denied any justice in God, to which the atonement of Christ had reference, in order to the pardon of sin. Are you not ashamed of such a wicked artifice as this—at once to slander me, and to impose upon your readers?

'Again, you quote me thus in your libel: 'We are assured by the holy scriptures, that God forgives the sins of men through the great sacrifice of Christ intervening, rather than without any.' This is your pointing; and here you make a period for me, where I only made a comma, the sense being incomplete; but in my sermon it immediately follows after any—'not because he is deficient in goodness, or not perfectly merciful, but because he is infinitely *wise* as well as merciful; taking such a method herein as is in its nature admirably adapted to magnify the law and make it honorable; that is, to beget and preserve in the minds of reasonable creatures a just sense of God's authority, the dignity of his laws and government; which, as before intimated, is evidently best even for themselves.'

'Now had you quoted the sentence entire, instead of mutilating it in the shameful manner you have done, it would probably have convinced every discerning and unprejudiced man that you had injuriously represented my design. No person who understands himself, will say, that appointing a mediator to atone for sin, and forgiving us through him, proceeded from any want of goodness or mercy in God. Nor can any thing be said more honorable to the atonement, than that God provided it, 'because he is infinitely wise as well as merciful, taking such a method,' &c. But all this latter part of the sentence you dishonestly leave out, and go on to comment on the former part, thus: 'There was no absolute necessity of this sacrifice intervening; God might have forgiven sin without any; but of the two he chose rather to do it with than without any.' You quote and point that part of the sentence in the same manner several times in your libel; as if I intended that God might, consistently with the idea of his infinite wisdom and moral perfections, (all comprehended in his goodness,) have forgiven the sins of men, in a method not wise and good; or, at least, not so wise and good as that which he actually chose. You pretend to give my sense thus: 'Of the two, he chose rather to do it with than without any;' which evidently amounts to this; that of the two, God chose to act as became an infinitely wise and perfect being, rather than to act as did not become such an one.

'My expression does not any more suppose that God might, consistently with his perfections, have forgiven the sins of men without the atonement of Christ, than it does that he might in any, or all other respects in general, have acted a part different from that which is the wisest and best. And do you find neither nature nor grace inclining you to blush, Mr. Cleaveland, when you see your perverseness and dishonesty thus exposed to the world! If either of them, I am persuaded it is the former, corrupt as it is; for a reason which I leave to be conjectured.

'You proceed thus: 'But why did God choose to do it with a sacrifice, rather than without any?' What impudence is this! Did I not plainly inform you *why*, both negatively and positively, in that part of the same sentence, which you so feloniously left out? viz., 'Not because he was deficient in goodness, or not perfectly merciful; but because he was infinitely wise as well as merciful; taking such a method herein as is in its nature admirably adapted to magnify the law and make it honorable.' Is not this a sufficient reason, that this method was infinitely wise and admirably adapted to answer the most important ends in the divine government? What would the man have? It might perhaps have pleased you, who, it seems, have so little regard either for wisdom or goodness, or even common honesty, (in writing,) if I had said that the atonement had not its foundation in, or rise from infinite wisdom and goodness. For it seems that to say it had, is, in your depraved opinion, 'to cast injurious reflections on it;' in which, it is to be hoped, that no wise and good man will agree with you.

'But you would further infer my design to show the non-necessity of Christ's atonement, from my words quoted as above. Speaking of the passage in Heb. xi. 9, 10—'It became him,' &c.—I said, 'It became his wisdom and goodness—that there was a fitness in it—as the wisest and best method of saving sinful men, without any reference to that common, but yet strange supposition, of divine justice being entirely distinct from divine goodness.' Therefore, to be sure, I supposed there was no moral necessity of atonement, with reference to divine justice, in *any sense!* This is evidently what you endeavor to make your readers believe.

'Now, the dishonesty of this is most apparent. According to my idea of God's goodness, it is always to be considered as inseparably connected with his wisdom, and regulated thereby in all its operations. It is not to be considered as a sort of blind instinct, or good nature, detached from reason and right, or a regard to fitness and propriety. And being thus considered, I supposed that it comprised the whole moral character of God, even his justice. These things you well knew, for you have quoted many passages to this purpose, only to pervert them. You therefore doubtless knew, that when I said, 'It became the wisdom and goodness of God to forgive the sins of men, through the sacrifice of Christ,' I did not speak of his goodness in the common restrained sense, but as including his justice; in a sense analagous to that, in which the goodness of a wise prince or parent includes justice. So that if the atonement of Christ had any reference to goodness in this sense, it must necessarily have some, indeed a particular reference to justice. What then became of your honesty, or your senses, Mr. Cleaveland, when you wrote as you did? Besides, this very passage, that you have used so unfairly, is introduced in a manner which plainly supposes I allowed a sort of moral necessity of atonement, in order to the forgiveness of men's sins. For it is an answer to this objection, which I thought some might possibly make against the doctrine delivered by me—' What occasion was there for any atonement on these principles?' Whereas the scriptures constantly suppose the need of it, in order to the pardon of sin.

' Now, that the scriptures really suppose a necessity of it, in order to our forgiveness, I plainly allowed; and accordingly went on to show whence that necessity arose, upon my own principles; viz., ' that the law of God might be magnified and made honorable; and that a just sense of his authority, the dignity of his laws and government, might be preserved in the minds of reasonable beings, which is evidently best even for themselves.' And yet you have such a front, Mr. Cleaveland, as to represent me as having ' injuriously aspersed' the atonement of Christ, as unnecessary.

' That you have wilfully misrepresented my design, misquoted my words, in some places, and put a perverse construction on them in others, is, I believe, very apparent to every impartial and intelligent person, who has ever compared your libel with my sermons. And if any thing coming from you could astonish me, (except sober truth, solid reasoning and candor,) after what I have already noticed, I should be astonished at the effrontery you discover when you say, ' If I have not hit upon the Doctor's evident design, I confess it is because I cannot comprehend him.' What do you mean, pray, by not hitting upon, or not comprehending an *evident design?* If the design is *evident*, who but an idiot could help hitting upon, comprehending, or at least in general knowing what it is? That you do not comprehend my *whole design*, may be true; but that you understood more of it than you were willing to own, and knowingly misrepresented it, is apparent, particularly from your misquoting, curtailing, mangling, and mispointing my words, and by your perverse comments: whereas, had you acted honestly, it would have at once appeared to your readers, that you were only exposing yourself by objecting to my sermons, in the manner you have done. No one can help hitting on your design, in this way of proceeding, and seeing it to be wicked in a high degree.

'And pray, how much better a design had you, in what you say about my being 'full in the scheme, (at least as to the fundamental and leading principles of it,) which president Clap, of Yale college, collected out of Chubb and others?' I will tell you what some suppose to be part of your design, in introducing that pamphlet, and thus charging me with being in the scheme therein represented; viz., to recommend yourself to the author and the other governors of that college; which, it is said, *spewed* you out some years ago; and thus to obtain, by this dishonest means, the academical honors, of which you are at once so unworthy and so ambitious. For had not this been the case, you would not, surely, so long have sought them in vain.

'In one part of your essay, you give your views of the doctrine of the divine attributes, and of some of the inferences as held by the protestant reformers. This tedious medley of absurdities, I suppose, is the marrow of your old sermons, revised for this occasion. You appear to talk without any clear ideas; making as free with God, almost, as if you were his equal, or comprehended his nature as perfectly as he does himself. I consider this as your system of divinity: and a greater piece of confusion and impertinence I hardly ever saw. It is such precious, sublime jargon, as the wild, rambling exhorters used to entertain the gaping rabble with, several years ago, when you were one of them. Only, by being printed, it appears more ridiculous than if it were foamed out extempore. I shall not misspend time, by particularly exposing it. I do not, indeed, deny but that there are several important, well known truths scattered here and there; and particularly when you say, and endeavor to *prove*, that God *cannot lie*. And yet I think you have much more clearly demonstrated, in many places, *who can*, even without *designing* to make it appear. Whether you have, or have not done this, even in this page of your book, I leave you and others to consider.

'Speaking of me, you say, 'We may justly charge him with robbing God of what he esteems his glory, in excluding the attribute of divine justice.' Now, Mr. Cleaveland, what do you think of such a representation as this? Did I not often speak of justice—even punitive justice—as a part of God's moral character; as a branch of his essential goodness, considered in connection with infinite wisdom, a regard to right, fitness, and propriety? Why, then, should you slander me thus, as if I excluded divine justice; especially when I often spoke of it, in conformity to the common method, as a particular, distinct attribute of God?

'If you go on in this way, Mr. Cleaveland, without repentance, I verily believe you will have reason to wish, in earnest, that God was not a just being, either in your sense or mine.

'You profess to take notice of some of my inaccuracies and inconsistencies, and devote a great part of your pamphlet to this object; in which you play the critic, and show your own wit and sagacity. I never pretended to much accuracy in writing; but I think it is a little merry, that you, of all men, should undertake to show my inaccuracies; and I think it will be apparent to every one, that your criticisms actually proceeded from *nature*, rather than from learning or art: I mean human nature, as you represent it, *wholly evil and corrupt*. But had you not exposed yourself enough before, as a theologian, and champion for the protestant faith, in opposition to the 'injurious aspersions' cast on it by me, without pretending to set up for a critic too? Should you not, at least, have learnt the difference between impudence and wit, between lying and criticising, before you attempted to show your talents in this way? Whether you did, or did not know the material differences, may appear to all who shall think worth while to compare your pretended criticisms with my discourses. I am far from designing a defence of them against you. I only mean to shame you, if possible, for your vanity and wickedness.

'You are pleased to say, also, that I have 'represented God as a compound being, made up of as many distinct, self-existent qualities or parts, as he has divine attributes.' Now, what foundation had you for this, besides a passage in which I speak expressly of the *impropriety* of ascribing *parts* to God? Speaking of goodness as an essential attribute of God, I added, that 'it is no borrowed or precarious excellence, as the goodness of men or angels is in them; but as necessary as his being. Indeed, one need not scruple to call it a part of God himself, only as there may be an impropriety in that manner of expression, concerning the infinite God, in *all* other respects in general.' What greater dishonesty or baseness, after this, could a critic be guilty of, than you are, in making such a bustle as you do, for almost two pages together, about parts of God? And you have the insolence to say—'See what an accurate and consistent description the Doctor gives of the one only living and true God: q. d. "God is a *compound* being, made up of eternal, essential, and equally necessary self-existent *parts;* and though these *parts*," ' &c. Could you have possibly given your readers such a representation of my doctrine, if you had understood the material distinction which I before mentioned to you—that between lying and criticising? If you take these for synonymous terms, I do not wonder that you think yourself a very masterly critic. Thus you father your own nonsense and impiety on me, contrary to my express, declared opinion.

'Another of your criticisms is this—that I sometimes speak of justice as a particular moral attribute of God, distinct from goodness; and at other times speak of it as a branch of his essential goodness. Your cavils about this make a great part of your libel. I explained myself so far, that no intelligent, candid person could mistake my meaning. For it is evident that, when I spake of justice in God, as distinct from goodness or benevolence, in the common restricted sense, I considered it as no otherwise distinct therefrom in him, than it is in a wise and good man, whether a parent or a prince. It is common to speak of justice in man as a moral virtue, distinct from charity or love, which is frequently spoken of as another moral virtue. And yet it is certain that love or charity, considered in the most comprehensive sense, includes not only justice, but all other moral and social virtues. The apostle Paul often speaks of charity in this comprehensive sense; and especially in Rom. xiii. 8, 9: 'Owe no man any thing, but to love one another. For he who loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this law, thou shalt not commit adultery; and this, thou shalt not steal; and this, thou shalt not bear false witness; and this, thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' Pray, learned sir, is not doing justice often spoken of as a particular moral virtue in scripture, as distinct, in some sort, from loving mercy, or charity, and *vice versa*? And yet does not the apostle here speak of the command—loving our neighbor as ourself—as comprehending all the commands of the second table; and, consequently, justice? And are not christian magistrates and parents bound, by that comprehensive command, when understood in its proper extent, even to punish their subjects and children respectively, for the good of those who do evil, or for the warning and benefit of others? But your narrow, dark and groveling soul can perhaps have no conception of punishment proceeding from love, or from any thing besides a spirit of revenge. Not that I exclude the hatred of sin, as if it had not, or ought not to have any place in him who punishes it, whether it be God or man.

'When once you have enough of wisdom and the spirit of Christianity, to conceive how love is the fulfilling of the law; or how all moral, social virtues are comprehended in the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;' you will no longer be at a loss to understand what I mean, when I speak of divine justice and divine goodness in the manner I do; nor be so captious as to object against it, as an inaccuracy or inconsistency. Whether your criticisms proceed from ignorance, or from vanity and malice, I will not pretend to determine. But that there is a great deal of both discovered, is undeniable. And you may, if you please, try your *critical* skill upon the apostle Paul; and endeavor to show that he did not understand himself, but wrote *inaccurately* and *inconsistently*. But I forgot myself in what I have now said, by descending to reason with a man, whom I was only to reprove and chastise, as a captious, conceited wrangler.

'That you deserve no better character than this, is farther evident from what you observe, in order to show me guilty of an inconsistency; because, though I spoke of the goodness of God as infinite, without measure, without bounds, yet I afterwards spoke of it as directed and controlled by infinite wisdom in all its operations, in opposition to its being a sort of blind instinct, detached from reason and right, or a regard to fitness and propriety; with reference to which you say, 'what is controlled, I thought was bounded and limited!' A great deal of the like critical stuff is in your pages. So that, in your sage opinion, if the divine goodness is directed, controlled and limited by infinite wisdom in its operation, and always to be considered in connexion therewith, in opposition to its being a mere *blind instinct*, it must be *bounded* and *limited*, and therefore *finite*. And if you here mean any thing in opposition to me, it must be this, that God cannot at once be infinite both in wisdom and goodness; for if infinite wisdom regulates goodness, the latter, you say, must be bounded and limited. The same mode of reasoning, or rather of impious trifling, might be applied to the power of God.

'I suppose all are agreed, in general, that the power of God is exercised according to, or regulated by his infinite wisdom; and not excited at random. If so—according to you, great *critic!*—God's power cannot be infinite, without measure or bounds, because *you always thought* that what is directed, controlled, and regulated, even though it be only by infinite wisdom, is 'bounded and limited,' and therefore finite. What but the most stupid ignorance, or the blindest rage and malice, could lead you to criticise in this manner? So desirous are you of proving me guilty of inaccuracies and inconsistencies, that you will run yourself into atheism, or what is next akin to it, by denying, in effect, that God can be both infinitely wise and infinitely good.

'With the same *pious* intention, doubtless it is, that you misquote my words in several places. You say, 'He argues thus to prove punitive justice to be a branch of goodness; viz., "God's end must be either positively good, or positively bad. If it be the creatures' happiness, it is positively good; if it be their misery, it is positively bad and cruel,"' &c. But these words are none of mine: and, in a passage in my sermons on the divine goodness, which comes the nearest to them, (not very near,) I was not speaking of punitive justice as a branch of goodness, but of the almost infinite variety of God's works, or of the universe, and the end thereof. Why will you fib so, Mr. Cleaveland? You discover your dishonesty again, when you say, 'Let us see how the Doctor reconciles God's leaving the heathen world to unavoidable and eternal misery, with his being actually kind and merciful to all.' You then pretend to give my solution of this difficulty; adding, with an unmannerly sneer, 'A satisfactory answer this! This is enough to satisfy some, I trow.' But you know I did not allow the truth of that supposition about the heathen world; nor pretend to show its consistency with God's goodness to all. It was, therefore, knavish in you to give such a representation of the matter; saying, 'Let us see how the Doctor reconciles,' &c. But it seems almost as easy for the Ethiopian to change his skin, or the leopard his spots, as for you, who have been so *accustomed* to misrepresentation and *fibbing*, to write and represent things fairly.

'You are at your dirty work again in several pages following; and particularly where you say, 'The Doctor presumes to tell how God *became* infinitely, perfectly good,' &c. This is another infamously false representation. What I endeavored to shew, in the passage to which you refer, is not how God *became* infinitely wise or good; but, as it is there expressed, that 'God being supposed all-knowing, independent and almighty, the absolute perfection of his goodness may be *deduced* from hence,' &c: that is, clearly argued, or inferred. And I expressly guarded against the impious supposition, that God is not *eternally* and *necessarily* good. Now are you not an impudent slanderer, for publishing to the world, that I presume to tell how God *became* infinitely good, only because I shewed an eternal, necessary connexion between omniscience, independence, omnipotence and goodness? Is this critisising, or lying, Mr. Cleaveland? For once, let conscience speak.

'I might proceed to take notice of a wonderful criticism indeed: I mean one of the most impudent, barefaced, execrable pieces of forgery, which, I believe, any man ever committed, without being pillored, or cropped, or suffering some other infamous punishment. You pretend to cite from me, in the most formal manner, a long passage—part of three pages in your libel—not a single complete sentence of which is mine. And after this misquotation, this garbling and altering of my sermons, you say, 'Oh, Doctor! can God, the Judge of all the earth, require an atonement to be made, if he is not offended? And can he be offended, and yet not justly offended?' Oh, Mr. Cleaveland! can you read these last words of your own without trembling? Do not your knees smite against each other, when you reflect on your own falsehood and wickedness, particularly in the *pretended* long passage from me? You have marked it, as a quotation from my sermons, and so given it in your libel. And yet you know, in your own conscience, (if you have any,) that this is a piece of right-down forgery; and that not one entire sentence of all this gallimafry, or hotch-potch, is mine.

'Is not the worst kind of lying and slandering, that of writing and publishing known falsehoods, injurious to the reputation of another? It is well, Mr. Cleaveland, if you have not, sooner or later, great reason to wish that you had never learnt even to write; in which case your guilt might probably have been less than it is. For you could not possibly have used me in so injurious a manner with your tongue, 'though set on fire of hell,' and by walking through the earth, as you have done by writing and publishing this libel, which may be dispersed farther abroad than you might have been permitted to ramble in person, without being taken up, and receiving your full deserts. I find, on this occasion, a great strife in my breast between indignation and pity towards you, a person so lost to all sense of honor, virtue, and religion, as to be capable of such a piece of wickedness.

'I will refer to another instance of gross prevarication and even profaneness in you. After quoting what I had said concerning the goodness of God to his creatures in general, in punishing wicked men hereafter, by way of example and terror, you wickedly wrest my words, as if I had said that he would therein be good and merciful even to those whom he will destroy, soul and body in hell. Now, you must know in your own soul, that you here pervert my words and meaning. And are you not ashamed and afraid to trifle thus on so tremendous a subject, in order to prove me guilty of an inaccuracy, or inconsistency? Do you really believe there is a hell for the wicked—particularly, a lake burning with fire and brimstone, in which *all liars* are to have their part?

'Still you go on to *fib* egregiously for many pages together, in order to show me inconsistent with myself. I shall only glance at a few particulars more. You give a sad example of the 'sin which does easily beset you,' with reference to what I said concerning an unwarrantable expression of Calvin. You say that I place in the margin of my sermon a passage of the learned Calvin, touching the reprobate; and that I say, 'A certain decree of reprobation was the opinion of that learned man.' These words are marked by you as a quotation from me; but they are not mine. And you further say, that I add, 'The sentiment was contrary to reason and scripture,' &c. These last words are mine; but you misrepresent me as denying any certain decree of reprobation. After quoting Mr. Calvin's words, I observed, that 'they naturally import, that there are many persons, who, by a supposed eternal decree of reprobation, are absolutely precluded from the benefit of pardon, or the grace of God revealed to the world. This was the known opinion of that learned man: a sentiment at once unsupported by reason or scripture.' Now, why could you not quote truly and fairly, Mr. Cleaveland? Can you give any other reason for it, than that it is more agreeable to your depraved mind to *fib*, cavil, and misrepresent, than to speak truth? You go on to exercise your talent, and to show *whose child* you are, in the same page, where you say, 'The Doctor states the doctrine in an objection; but discovers himself disingenuous and abusive in the manner of stating it.' Now it is false, that I stated either the scripture or calvinistic doctrine of reprobation. And may not one speak of the absurd, impious notions which some persons have of reprobation, but you must take it to yourself, and say this was aimed against the calvinists—even though you deny they hold it in the manner expressed? Besides, I did not say that any actually held the impious doctrine, which I here speak of; though I believe I might have truly done so. I spake with caution, because I would not needlessly give offence to any, saying 'if any persons really held such a doctrine,' &c. And even you, Mr. Cleaveland, with all your uncommon stock of assurance, will not dare openly assert the doctrine of reprobation, in the sense there denied by me. Are you not, then, an insolent caviller, to talk at this rate? I hope there are but few persons in the world, who have such strong and sad marks of reprobation on them, as a certain man whom I could name; but one to whom you appear a great stranger, though it nearly concerns you to have an intimate acquaintance with him.

'I must next rebuke you for your irreverence and profanity, in speaking of God, when you say, 'Why may not the judgment of God be a righteous judgment? The Doctor will not say it was the effect of a sadly depraved judgment in the Almighty.' I shall take no notice of the nonsense of this: but you are highly culpable for your impiety, in speaking of the Almighty in this light, fleering, flouting manner; shewing a want of due reverence to him, as well as of all decorum and good manners in your treatment of me. Rudeness and insolence towards man, Mr. Cleaveland, though inexcusable, are harmless, in comparison with impiety to God. I fear you have forgotten, or never learnt, the third commandment. I therefore advise you to think seriously of and to remember it. Men of your stamp are generally much too free with their Maker.

'You are guilty of another falsehood, at least an implicit one, when, speaking of original sin, you say, 'The Doctor does not state the doctrine right, when he says, "without any offence of their own."' You know I neither stated nor attempted to state that doctrine; though I mentioned what I take to be one great error relating to it; viz., that infants, before actual sin, are justly liable to eternal torments.

And you doubtless designed to impose on your readers, by speaking of my *stating* the doctrine.

'Thus I have produced some specimens of your way of criticising. I have let pass innumerable scurrilous reflections, as well as senseless remarks on my sermons, scarce taking notice of any thing in your libel, but what betrays the falsehood and wickedness of your heart. Mere nonsense and absurdity I can overlook in *you;* but for your dishonesty, you ought to be rebuked, and that before all—because your sin in this respect is public: you have proclaimed it yourself. Mr. Cleaveland, your guilt is really great, very great; and it is proper you should be made sensible of it. What is the ground of your quarrel with me? Does it really amount to any thing more than this? I think divine justice is comprehended in divine goodness, in a way analogous to that in which justice and all other social virtues, are comprehended in the love of our neighbor. You think it is not. I think God forgives the sins of men through the atonement of Christ, because this was wisest and best, what most became a God of infinite wisdom and goodness. You appear to think otherwise. I do not think that God has decreed to damn men, but for their unrepented sins: neither dare you assert that he has, though you have reviled me with respect to this matter. I do not think it consistent with justice to make infants eternally miserable, solely on account of the first transgression. You think it is. This is the sum of the matter. And do you then, can you suppose my sentiments, as expressed in my sermons, a sufficient foundation for representing me as an enemy to some of the *most important* doctrines of the christian religion? Or can it be a credit to any religion, to represent it as mainly founded on such principles as I denied? You reproach Christianity, when you do so, whatever you may imagine.

'Besides, if I was erroneous in any of these respects, yet how unwarrantable a method have you taken? In your very first page, the civil epithets you give me are, 'bold and dogmatical.' And are not palpable falsehoods, misquotations, and forgeries, in order to give the world an ill opinion of the principles, and to hurt the reputation of any one, very heinous sins, especially in a professed Christian? You and I, Mr. Cleaveland, very well know who has done these things. Is not 'a good name rather to be chosen than great riches?' If so, your endeavoring, by repeated falsehoods proved upon you, and the vile arts, to represent me as an impious fool or madman, is certainly a much more heinous sin, than to have stolen a great treasure from me, or taken it away from me on the highway. I really think the sin you have been guilty of, in writing and publishing this libel, far greater than either of these, or to have burnt my house, would have been. Nor have I reason to think you would refrain from doing me any kind of mischief in your power, unless more restrained by something else than either by the fear of God, or a principle of justice.

'You certainly sinned against light. For you acknowledge—perhaps inadvertently, but certainly unfortunate for you—that lying and unfaithfulness are as really moral evils, as unkindness. How, then, could you misrepresent me, and falsify my sermons so notoriously; at once abusing me and the world, after such a concession as this? Is it because you think lightly of moral evils, or imagine the practise of them consistent with a state of grace, and that your orthodoxy will cover all? I do not pretend to know your sentiments on these points: but if the eternal rule of right, and God's moral law and government, 'are of so small weight that they do but just turn the scale' in favor of truth and integrity, in opposition to lying and unfaithfulness; yet, since they actually turn it, I see not but you must be self-condemned on your own principles and criticisms. And as you say these are as certainly moral evils, as unkindness or unmercifulness, I must remind you, that if you are guilty of the former, you are certainly guilty of the latter, also. For what could be more unkind and unmerciful in you, than to father your own nonsense and impiety on me, as you have repeatedly done; and this not when you did your best, but worst? How unmerciful, as well as false and perfidious, was this, Mr. Cleaveland!

'You are the more inexcusable for this outrageous assault on me, because of the cautious manner in which I expressed myself as to divine justice and goodness, and the doctrine of atonement, (which are the chief ground of your quarrel.)

Speaking of divine justice, as included in goodness, and of my intention briefly to explain myself, I said—'This I would do with all reverence to God, and with all due respect to those who have different sentiments on the subject. Whence I think, though it doth not become mortal man to speak confidently in such cases, that it follows, that there is not really in the great and glorious God any such distinction between goodness and justice, as has been objected to.' Again, referring to the same point, and to what I had been briefly saying of atonement, it is subjoined—'Though, by the way, these things are not said by me but with a high veneration for those wise and excellent men, who either have, or seem to have, different conceptions of this matter.' Was not this peaceable, modest, and candid, though you may call it bold and dogmatical? Had not I a right to speak my sentiments upon these points? If you disliked them, could you not content yourself with preaching your own? Or, if you must publish them, would it not have been more decent and proper for you to do it, without engaging in a personal controversy with me? There was but one copy of my sermons in your parish, as I am informed; and that in such hands, that there was no danger of its being lent about, to corrupt your parishioners. Or, if you thought the care of all the churches was upon you, and that it was incumbent on you—I say, on *you*—to stand up in defence of the 'most important principles of religion,' against me; should you not, at least, have paid a regard to truth, decency, and moral honesty?

'Moreover, this furious attack appears to have proceeded from *malice prepense.* It was a deliberate piece of wickedness. Your libel, by the many references, quotations, misquotations, and studied perversions which it contains, shews a great deal of malicious pains in the writer; and, as confused and immethodical as the composition is, I conjecture it must have employed a person of your abilities nearly half a year in the writing. And, even after it was finished, it lay by several months, before you could get either man or angel to help this *lame* offspring of your brain into the *pool*—I mean, the *press:* there being, as I am informed, but *one* subscriber for your libel in Boston.

'In the meantime, it is said, that you made a journey to Connecticut, to get a degree from that college, (in which, for some nameless reasons, it was thought improper for you to stay the usual time,) that you might gratify your vanity, and recommend your libel, by annexing A. M. to your name. But, failing in this, you resolved to go on, and take your revenge by adding three letters to your name, (V. D. M.) instead of two, which might answer the end as well, perhaps, with most of your readers. And, indeed, I must own there are some arts of which you have shown yourself an undoubted master in this performance, without a degree; though such arts as entitle a man much less to academical honors, in my opinion, than to something which I shall not mention.

'In the opinion of many people, you are the more inexcusable for writing and publishing such a wicked libel against me, on account of the time when it was done, when I was engaged in a public controversy, of great importance to the churches of New-England, as well as to the Indians in America and the British colonies, which are almost destitute of the worship and ordinances of God; and when I was employing my humble abilities to the utmost, to serve them: a work which I was repeatedly solicited to engage in, by several clergyman of the first reputation among us. At this very time you were planning or publishing mischief against me, as an enemy to the most important principles of the protestant religion; and consequently, not only to these churches, but to Christianity itself! You have joined your slanders to those of my anonymous episcopal defamers; you have brought the like accusation against me, and made use of the like dishonest arts to injure my reputation. Some, I know, are of opinion, that *episcopal* influence had a share in bringing out your scandalous pamphlet at this time; and that either you, or those with whom you have close connexion, have been set on and encouraged in the prosecution of this wicked design. I well recollect that, in one of the many *libels* published against me by that party, there is something said about you and your (then) proposed pamphlet, apparently with such a view. And what reward do you expect for this furious attack on me? Perhaps, to be made a bishop in America!

'If you suppose you are likely to gain any credit with our able divines, by this wicked piece of work, I have good reason to believe the contrary. Some of them (calvinistic divines) have spoken of you and your libel on me with great contempt and indignation; and appear quite astonished at your assurance in setting up for an author; but especially at the infamous arts which you have used to injure my reputation. Some of them disown you and your *orthodoxy*. Even your reverend friend and patron, who corrected the press for you, who has signalized his zeal against those accused of arminianism, and who has often discovered his spleen against me; even he was shocked at your unfairness, before your libel got through the press, when he found how grossly you had misrepresented and falsified my sermons; and, though your warm friend, is no advocate for your libel, nor the leading views which you have therein given. Judge, then, what credit you are likely to gain among people in general, clergy and laity; whether they do or do not agree with me in certain points of doctrine. The zealous gentleman, to whom I refer, who has such a thirst for *unorthodox* blood, (I do not mean literally,) would doubtless have highly extolled your performance, as it was against me, had it been but *tolerable:* but it was too gross an abuse to go down even with him.*

'I am sensible it is the opinion of some that you had not the principal hand in composing the libel to which your name is prefixed. They suppose it to be chiefly the work of a certain gentleman, unhappily bewildered, of a long time, with law, polemic divinity, metaphysics, superstition, politics and platforms, all crowding on his brain at once. A man of an artful, jesuitical head and heart; full of whimsical designs and notions, and a writer against the regular and learned clergy. This may be all conjecture, for aught I know. But if you have been led into such a premunire, Mr. Cleaveland; if you have been made what the vulgar call a catspaw, and persuaded to father the ill-favored, sinful child, which you did not beget, but only fostered, it may be most for your honor to confess the truth, and to bring out this piece of coquetry. And if you should do so, you may be sure of one advantage on your side. I mean, that though you are no better than you should be, yet none will, on this account, apply to you the proverb, that 'the worst knave has turned state's evidence.' But, at present I must take it for granted, that the libel is yours, since you declare it to be so. It is on the supposition that you spake the truth in this respect, that I have proceeded in the reproof already given you. If I have not handled you very tenderly or delicately, it was only because your case required severity: you appear not a little hardened. Though I abhor falsehood and villainy, and have been treated very injuriously by you, yet I would not have you imagine that my reproofs proceed from a spirit of malice or unchristian revenge. According to my sentiment, you know, chastisement should always have good for its proposed end, either private or public, or both. And though that which I have administered to you, may and must make you smart for a while, yet to convince you and the world that I charitably intend it for your real benefit, I will now close this epistle, (which *you* will probably consider already tedious,) with some friendly and salutary advice.

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* Said to be Rev. Andrew Crosswell, of Boston.

'I counsel you to acknowledge your sin to the world, by publishing an ample confession of the injustice you have done me, and thus giving me reasonable satisfaction. I advise you to be diligent in your studies, and to take pains in composing your sermons, that there may be both useful matter and method in them; instead of preaching in that flashy, rambling and incoherent way which I understand you do; and for which our modern itinerant exhorters have been so famous. Alas! how much precious time did you misspend in writing your libel! All which time the poor people of Ipswich, I believe, fared miserably enough.

'Whatever you do, Mr. Cleaveland, beware of mixing metaphysics with your divinity. Your libel shows that your head is almost turned therewith already, which is the occasion of my giving you this caution. Preach the plain, indisputable doctrines and duties of the gospel, in a plain, intelligible manner. Do not exercise yourself in things *too high for you.* Aim at no great refinements or very nice distinctions. Meddle as little as possible with abstruse, controversial points: for which I perceive you have a huge appetite, without a digestion at all answerable. Your head, if not your heart, is already much affected and injured thereby, and the consequence of your going on in this way, may be downright phrensy.

'In the last place, I advise you to avoid all censoriousness, all rash judging and condemning of others, whose religious opinions are different from yours. Preach your own sentiments honestly, but do not represent all those who dislike them, as graceless, unconverted men, and as enemies to the most important doctrines of Christianity. A fundamental principle of true protestantism is, that the holy scriptures are a sufficient, and the only rule of christian faith; and that Christians have a right to judge of the sense of scripture for themselves. In this imperfect state there will unavoidably be some diversity of opinion, even among wise and good men; among true Christians and true protestants; and perhaps still more diversity in their manner of expressing themselves on some speculative points, than in their sentiments. You should not expect to bring all men to think and express themselves just as you do; much less pick a quarrel with, misrepresent, abuse, and defame them, if they do not. Even calvinists differ among themselves, as appears by what I have cited from Dr. Twisse, relative to satisfaction for sin. True Christians will exercise forbearance and candor towards each other; and christian ministers, (of whom you seem to judge yourself one,) ought to set the example.

'Nothing is more unbecoming a minister of the gospel, than a narrow and censorious, a captious and wrangling disposition. And they, in whom this evil temper prevails, generally promote it among their hearers; inspiring them with anti-christian rage and bitterness against their fellow men, instead of the meek, benign, and charitable spirit of the gospel. I hope you will beware of this bad spirit for the future.

'If you put these counsels in practise, I am persuaded it will turn to good account—much better than for you to set up as a writer of controversy. It will be far more for your credit, and for the good of your people. I say these things with a good will to you and to them; and request you seriously to consider this advice. I should be glad, if, by acting a part becoming a minister of the gospel, in future, you should grow in the esteem of your people; and should rejoice to hear that you were serviceable in the cause of pure and undefiled religion in Ipswich, to your present comfort and future honor.'

This severe reply to Mr. Cleaveland—however merited by him for his gross misrepresentations and misquotations, that he might render Dr. Mayhew unpopular and even odious to the ignorant portion of calvinists—has not been considered so honorable to his character as his other controversial writings. And it has been thought that if some passages had been omitted, it would have been more consistent with a christian spirit. But, without intending fully to justify every severe expression, justice to his character requires a due consideration of the attack made on him by Mr. Cleaveland; who had perverted his meaning and altered his language, that he might hold him up to the churches as an enemy to the doctrines of grace. It is difficult to suppose that Mr. Cleaveland did not designedly misstate Dr. Mayhew's propositions, advanced in his sermons; or that he did not wish to destroy the character of Dr. Mayhew, as a christian minister. Still it may be a question, whether Dr. Mayhew should have indulged in such severe remarks as are to be found in his *rebuke*. That Mr. Cleaveland's pamphlet was a *libel*, cannot be denied. That it was written with a most unchristian spirit, if not with a malicious design, will probably be admitted. But if Dr. Mayhew had spared some of his hard words against Mr. Cleaveland's book, his triumph would have been equally great. That a severe reply was just—both from regard to his own reputation as a preacher of the gospel, and from a desire to defend the simple and plain truths of Christianity, when obscured and corrupted by a conceited fanatic, who represented all as enemies of God and religion who preferred the words of Christ to the doctrines of Calvin—must be allowed. But, justifiable and commendable, or otherwise, an impartial reference to his publications is demanded alike by truth and justice.

CHAPTER XI.

Dr. Mayhew's Discourse at Dudleian Lecture, on popish idolatry—Riots on account of stamp act—Extracts of letters relating to it—Letter to Mr. Hutchinson about riots—Sermon on repeal of stamp act—Death of Dr. Mayhew—Obituary notices.

In 1765, Dr. Mayhew delivered the annual public lecture in Harvard college, on the foundation of Judge Paul Dudley. It was the will of Chief Justice Dudley that the subject of the lectures should be natural religion, the evidences of the christian revelation, the validity of presbyterian ordination, and the errors and corruptions of popery. According to this arrangement, the last of these subjects came in course in 1765; and Dr. Mayhew's lecture referred particularly to the idolatry of the Romish church, and not to popish errors and corruptions in general. Excepting the discourse of Dr. Chauncy, on the validity of presbyterian ordination, this was considered one of the most learned and elaborate which had been delivered on a similar occasion.

The lecture was introduced by the passage of scripture contained in 2 Cor. vi. 16—'*What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?*' &c. After some general remarks, touching the erroneous nature and the pernicious influence of the popish system, Dr. Mayhew proceeded to point out the instances of idolatry, direct or indirect, gross or specious, which have been alleged against the Roman catholic hierarchy; which, though assuming to be the only true and infallible church of Christ, is deemed by all enlightened protestants and reformers to be unchristian and anti-christian in its claims and usurpations, in its tenets and maxims, and in its oppressions and persecutions.

Rev. Dr. Wigglesworth had delivered a lecture on the pretended infallibility, and Rev. Mr. Foxcroft on the supremacy of the Romish church. Dr. Mayhew now chose to speak of its idolatry. And he stated that a religious reverence or worship expressed for any being or object, except to the Deity, was idolatry or polytheism, in a greater or less degree; for he supposed there might be different degrees of worship or reverence offered; but that all degrees were improper, even when pretended that supreme worship only was offered to God, and that that offered to images, pictures and emblems was of an inferior nature. No such religious worship, he said, was allowed by scripture; and that which was offered to images and other objects, whatever might be pretended as to its being of an inferior kind of worship, had a tendency to confine the thoughts to the visible object; and thus become improper and unscriptural.

Dr. Mayhew shows, that the bread and wine, after consecration, was worshipped and adored as God; it being pretended that it was converted into the real body and blood of Christ, and that Christ was God. This was called the adoration of the host; and all the outward forms of worship and adoration were used. The Virgin Mary, he proves, was also worshipped as the queen of heaven, and as the mother of God. Saints were likewise worshipped, on account of their services and merits; and prayers addressed to them to intercede with the *divine* Mary, or her Son, in their behalf. And this kind of idolatry continues to this day, said Dr. Mayhew; notwithstanding the light of philosophy and of the reformation. Images and pictures also received worship or religious homage, by the canons of the church of Rome. These were at first designed to edify the vulgar and illiterate; but it only served to deceive and corrupt them, and to keep their thoughts from God himself. All these practices, he justly considers unscriptural; and that the Roman catholic worship is idolatrous, and the church no better than pagan, except in the name. The conclusion to be drawn from this statement is, that the Romish church is neither a pure, nor the true church of Christ; that its errors were so material, so anti-christian, so corrupt, and so corrupting, that it could not, in truth or charity, be considered the church of Christ, as it truly was in the first, second, and even third and fourth centuries. 'By the worship authorised and enjoined by the pope and his priests, God is dishonored, and Christ, the one mediator, is dishonored; and instead of being the true and chaste spouse of Christ, the church of Rome is a corrupt and filthy prostitute, which has forsaken her first love, and become a lewd harlot and the mother of harlots.'

This discourse occupies fifty-two octavo pages; and various writers are quoted as authorities for the statements made. The several positions taken in the discourse are ably illustrated, by referring to histories of general credit.

One may be led to ask, how Dr. Mayhew, when considered so great a *heretic*, and so much opposed for his religious opinions by the greater part of the clergy, should have been chosen to deliver this lecture; and when none but much older persons than he was, had been before appointed? It was probably owing, in a great measure, to his uncommon talents and learning; but he had then become more respected and honored for his ardent love of civil and religious liberty; for his political and theological *whigism;* for his able support of the true principles of the protestant reformation; and for his triumphant defence of the congregational churches and the dissenting interests, in opposition to the plans and arts, the influence and efforts of the English hierarchy, with reference to New-England. His abilities were too great, and too generally acknowledged, to be neglected by the wise and learned men of that day.

The present year, 1765, the paper contest began between Great Britain and the American colonies, which, ten years after, issued in an appeal to arms, for the decision of the dispute. In the preceding year, indeed, the British government had imposed a heavy duty on the article of molasses imported into the colonies, which was remonstrated against as improper, oppressive, and arbitrary; as it was in effect taxing the people in the provinces, without the consent of their immediate representatives composing their legislative assemblies. A stamp act was only proposed in 1764, but not adopted till the spring of 1765. The latter was particularly alarming to the people in America, as it was of the nature of an excise, and very onerous to those who had business in courts of any sort, or in transactions requiring written instruments. All classes of people took a deep interest in these measures of the British government, and were justly apprehensive for the continuance of their ancient liberties, under such a system as the parent state was adopting. It was pretended by the friends of government, that these acts did not strictly impose internal taxes; but it was said, in reply, that if the British parliament could raise an excise by stamps, and a large revenue by laying duties on goods imported into the colonies, to any extent it might choose, there was no limit to its power, and that the people here were no better than slaves. And when the stamp act was passed, in the early part of 1765, the people lost all hope, and almost all patience. They complained loudly against the oppressive and arbitrary acts of parliament. The wise and discreet citizens were deeply anxious; and earnestly inquired of one another, what is to be done, to avoid these grievances, and to maintain our ancient charter rights and liberties? Their feelings were greatly excited; but still they considered it best to take counsel of reason and prudence. But the common people could hardly be restrained from acts of violence. Indeed, there was a resort to riots, in a few instances, when the persons of some were threatened, and their property actually destroyed. And their was almost an universal resolution adopted, by all classes, to refuse to purchase or use the stamped paper.

The learned, the wise, and the prudent, with a very few exceptions, openly declared against such arbitrary measures as the British ministry were adopting. Even the clergy took part in the dispute. They were generally the decided friends of civil liberty; and they considered it their right and duty, as members of civil society, to seek the welfare of the province and maintain the rights of their fellow citizens. Among these, Dr. Mayhew appears to have been one of the most ardent and active. Nor was this unexpected to those who knew his views in favor of civil as well as religious liberty, which he had often publicly expressed. His letters to his friend, Mr. Hollis, in England, who was also a distinguished advocate for liberal opinions, both in church and state, express some of his opinions on these subjects. In a letter dated August 8, 1765, Dr. Mayhew says:

'The colonies are universally and greatly alarmed at the late measures of the British ministry. These measures appear to me extremely hard and injurious; and, if long continued, will greatly cramp and retard the population of the colonies, to the detriment of the mother country. And what may in time be the consequence of raising a general and great disaffection in the people of this large continent, no one can certainly foresee. But you and I, sir, are clear in this point, that no people are under a *religious obligation to be slaves*, if they *are able* to set themselves at liberty.'

In another letter, of August 19, 1765, to Mr. Hollis, Dr. Mayhew refers to the above, and adds, 'The people, one and all, consider the stamp act, and the power lately given to admiralty courts, by which the right of a jury is in a great measure taken away, as instances of grievous oppression, and scarcely better than downright tyranny. When I last wrote you, I did not think the spirit of opposition to the stamp act would have broken out so soon, in open acts of violence, as it has done.'—He proceeds to relate what occurred in Boston, on the 14th of August, that year, when a formidable riot took place, the custom-house injured, Mr. Oliver's image hung upon a liberty-tree in the south part of the town, and Mr. Hutchinson's house assaulted and his papers destroyed.—'I have reason to believe,' he says, 'that the stamp act is as much disliked by the people generally, through all the colonies, as in this. So great is the detestation in which it is had, that I am convinced it will never be carried into execution, unless at the point of the sword, by a large, or rather by a number of armies, and one in each colony; there being about 60,000 fighting men in this province only: and it is given out by many, that they will spend their last blood in this cause. You will observe, sir, I only mention facts, without giving my own opinion. I will, however, presume to say, that I greatly doubt the expediency of Great Britain waging war with her American colonies, as it were for the mere sake of carrying this odious act into execution; and thereby hazarding their destruction, or their entire loss to and revolt from her. The people in the colonies are far from desiring to be independent of Great Britain; and nothing, I believe, could make them even willing for it, but what they esteem hard, cruel, and oppressive treatment.'*

In September of the same year, Dr. Mayhew wrote to Mr. Hollis:

'I am more and more confirmed in the opinion which I intimated in my last, that the stamp act will never be carried into execution, without the effusion of much blood; for it is the general voice of the people, that they had rather die by the sword, than to submit to such slavery as they conceive they shall be under by submitting to such a kind of taxation. May God, in his infinite mercy, direct both the mother country and the colonies what to do in such a melancholy conjuncture! Our public papers, which I send you, will show how much these matters employ the attention of the people at this time. I shall also send you our governor's (Bernard) wretched speech,† made two days ago; to answer which a committee has been appointed. He seems to desire that the general court should assist in putting these heavy chains on themselves and the people; in which, I presume to say, he will be disappointed. For my own part, I have both publicly and privately delivered my opinion of the impropriety and great danger of any forcible, riotous and illegal proceeding in opposition to the authority of parliament. We are not able to contend with Great Britain in this way.' [Mr. Hollis fully responded to these sentiments.]

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* A similar opinion was expressed by Otis, S. Adams, and others, among the most decided patriots in 1765, and even much later.

† Governor Bernard said, in this speech, 'The executive authority is too weak to maintain order and put the laws in force: the right of parliament to make laws for the colonies, however it may be controverted in this province, is undisputed at Westminster: the stamp act is an act of parliament, and must therefore be obeyed.'—The committee of the house, to answer this speech, were S. Adams, T. Cushing, and S. Dexter. James Otis was then attending a congress in New-York.

The biographer of Mr. Hollis observes here, that 'few men were better informed of the disposition of the American people than Dr. Mayhew. His residence in Boston, the high esteem in which he was there held, on account of his abilities, integrity, and prudence, gave him a great confidence among them, which procured him an insight into their private and personal views.' Mr. Hollis showed these letters of Dr. Mayhew, respecting the opposition to the stamp act, to the prime minister, in the belief that administration proposed only the mildest measures; and it is proof of the great confidence Mr. Hollis placed both in the information and judgment of Dr. Mayhew. It was supposed, at the time, that the opinion of Dr. Mayhew, with other proofs of the general and great dissatisfaction of the people with the stamp act, led to its repeal a few months after.

The Lord's-day before the riots, in August, produced by the arrival of the stamped paper, Dr. Mayhew, preached a sermon from Galatians v. 12, 13. In this discourse, he spoke of the importance of Christians maintaining their religious liberties, and of zealously guarding our civil rights. But he also dwelt largely and plainly on the danger of running into licentiousness, moral, social or political. He condemned all violence, and riots, and rashness, with a view to preserve liberty, or as a remedy from any acts of government, supposed to be arbitrary and oppressive. Indeed, he seemed to aim particularly to prevent all acts of outrage and violence, of which some then were apprehensive, from the highly excited state of the public. The enemies of Dr. Mayhew misrepresented his sentiments, as expressed on that occasion, and pretended that he gave countenance to violent proceedings. This report soon reached the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Hutchinson, whose house had been injured, and much of his furniture and some valuable papers destroyed. And Dr. Mayhew was also informed what was reported abroad, and to Mr. Hutchinson. He immediately addresses the following letter to the lieutenant-governor:

'Sir,—I take the freedom to write you a few lines, by way of condolence, on account of the almost unparalleled outrages committed at your house last evening; and the great damage which I understand you have suffered thereby. God is my witness, that, from the bottom of my heart, I detest these proceedings; that I am most sincerely grieved at them, and have a deep sympathy with you and your distressed family on this occasion.

'I the rather write to you in this manner, sir, because I understand that some of my numerous and causeless enemies have expressed themselves to-day, as if I approved of these doings; and had, indeed, encouraged them in a sermon which I preached the last Lord's-day, on Galatians v. 12, 13. This I absolutely deny. I did, indeed, express myself strongly in favor of civil and religious liberty, as I hope I shall ever continue to do; and spoke of the late stamp act as a great grievance, likely to prove detrimental in a high degree both to the colonies and to the mother country: which, I believe, is the sense of almost every person of understanding in America: and, particularly, I have heard your honor speak to the same purpose. But, as my text led me to do, I cautioned my hearers expressly against the abuses of liberty, and intimated my hopes that no persons among ourselves had encouraged the bringing of such a burden on their country, though it had been strongly suspected.

'Let me add, that, when in private company I have often heard your honor spoken of as one who was supposed to have been an encourager of this act, I have taken the liberty to say, I heard you express yourself in a manner which strongly implied the contrary: which I did with a view to remove those prejudices which I perceived some persons had against you in that respect. And, in truth, I had rather lose my right hand than be an encourager of such outrages as were committed last night. Whatever faults I may have, I do not think my regard to truth was ever called in question* by those who know me; and therefore hope your honor will be so just as to give entire credit to these solemn declarations. These I make with a view to satisfy you, that though you may have heard something to my prejudice in this affair, I have therein been misrepresented. Not a single person concerned in this outrage, or of their advisers, is known to me; nor am I a friend to any, farther than to wish them repentance.'

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* It is sometimes the case that men of undoubted veracity and probity, are charged with falsehood, as a justification for the selfishness or prejudice of those who make the charge. And they must keep up the false report, to shield themselves from disgrace and censure.

The lieutenant-governor soon replied to Dr. Mayhew's note above, as follows:

'REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am extremely obliged to you for your kind sympathy with me under my deplorable circumstances. I never doubted your friendship, although I heard the talk of the town on Monday. Yet I was sure you abhorred mobs and riots, and had no other design than to preserve, in the minds of the people, a just sense of their liberties; and when something further was suggested, I remembered how often I had been misrepresented, aspersed, and injured myself.

'I should have answered your note sooner; but my spirits have been in continual agitation ever since the fatal night. I ask the continuance of your friendship, and your prayers for me; and am your affectionate friend and humble servant,

'THOS. HUTCHINSON.' *

The unfounded report, that Dr. Mayhew encouraged the riots and mobs in Boston, in August, 1765, which took place soon after the stamps arrived for distribution, did not stop here: it reached England, and no doubt with many highly colored additions. So fully was it believed at one time in England, that it was given out by the friends of the ministry that Dr. Mayhew would be ordered there, to answer for his disorganizing and disloyal conduct. This is mentioned by Mr. Hollis in two of his letters, near the close of 1765. It was believed that some of the zealous friends of the British ministry in Boston, and the more zealous advocates for episcopacy, united in such a request, and represented Dr. Mayhew as one given to stir up an opposition—even an open

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* These letters are alike honorable to the feelings both of Dr. Mayhew and of Gov. Hutchinson.

and forcible opposition—to the parent government. But the repeal of the stamp act soon after, together with more correct intelligence, as to the character and conduct of Dr. Mayhew, prevented the execution of the plan of transporting him to England, for examination and trial. Mr. Hollis says, somewhat pleasantly, in a letter to Dr. Mayhew, at this time, 'I hear you are expected in England before long; and though I cannot rejoice at the occasion which will bring you here, yet I assure you of my happiness to see you, and to be of service to you.'

The odious and oppressive act of parliament, requiring the use of stamped paper, which was a heavy tax or excise on the people in the colonies, to swell the British revenue, was repealed in March, 1766; and soon after the intelligence of the repeal reached America, Dr. Mayhew preached a sermon* on the joyful occasion, which was published by request of his hearers. This was in May; and it was the last of his publications. He died in July following. Dr. Mayhew forwarded several copies of this discourse to his friend, Mr. Hollis, with a request that one might be handed to William Pitt, the eminent patriot and statesman, and zealous friend of the liberties of the colonies, to whom the sermon was dedicated. As the stamp act gave the people great uneasiness, and was justly deemed a very heavy grievance, so the repeal was hailed with general expressions of rejoicing, though the more discerning patriots were alarmed at the declaration which accompanied it—'that the parliament had power to bind the colonies in all cases whatever.'

In this sermon, Dr. Mayhew said, he should not enter very particularly into a political consideration of the subject; partly because he considered such discussions not altogether proper for the pulpit, and partly from a sense of his inability to decide in a case not strictly within his profession.† And yet he should refer occasionally to the subject, in its political relations, as it might be expected of him, and could not well be avoided.

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* His text was, '*Our soul has escaped, as a bird from the snare of the fowler.*'

† Yet, when he speaks on the principles of civil liberty and the design of civil government generally, or on the nature of the British constitution in particular, he discovers much knowledge of such subjects; and it is evident that he had studied the political history of Great Britain and of America with attention.—He was one of those plain republicans, who think there should

'I shall take it for granted, that, as we were born free, and were never made slaves by right of conquest in war, (if there be any such *right*,) nor sold as slaves in any open, lawful market, for money, so we have a natural right to *our own*, till we have freely consented to part with it, either in person, or by those we have chosen to represent us and act for us. And it will also be taken for granted, that this natural right is declared, affirmed, and secured by *magna charta;* and has been still further confirmed to us by a royal charter, the legality and authority of which has never been denied by any house of parliament. It will also be granted that the right of trial by juries is a constitutional one, and essential to equal justice, and has been always enjoyed among us: that we had a right to petition and remonstrate against the late act of parliament, as an infraction of our civil rights, and tending to reduce us to slavery. It must also be granted that the said act was very grievous, not to say oppressive; as the debts of the colony are great, and were chiefly incurred in defence of the territory of the British empire. Yet, as to any methods of opposition to the late measure, besides those of petition, and others strictly legal, it will not be supposed that I appear as an advocate for them, whatever others may think. But I presume that we are generally agreed in condemning the late riotous proceedings of certain *men of Belial*, who had the effrontery to cloak their violent proceedings with a pretended zeal for liberty; which, however, is so far from being a new thing under the sun, that even

be no mystery in politics; and that, with a good share of information, understanding and public spirit, the affairs of state might be easily conducted for the welfare and prosperity of a nation. His good sense, therefore, and the knowledge he had of history and the design of legitimate governments, fitted him to write with correctness and power on the subject. And his severe remarks on usurpers and tyrants, and on arbitrary rulers generally, were as important and just, as they were honorable to his patriotism. He was too intelligent not to perceive the difference between legitimate power and constitutional control, and mere prerogative, or usurpation and oppression, under the name of necessary authority; between a government administered according to the constitution and for the good of all the subjects, and passive obedience and non-resistance.

Great Britain can furnish us with many and more flagrant examples of it.

'But the offensive act is repealed, and we all rejoice. Nor would we reflect on the character of our gracious king, nor on all the ministers and legislators of the parent country for the late grievous measure. No; I apply this, as I conclude you will, only to some evil-minded individuals, who are true friends neither to us nor to England, and who spared no wicked arts, no deceitful, dishonorable, or dishonest means to push on, and to obtain by surprise as it were, an act so prejudicial to both. These men are the cunning fowlers, from whose snare we have escaped. And such traitors will, doubtless, before long be caught in another *snare*, suitable for them; to the satisfaction of the king's good subjects on both sides of the Atlantic, if it should be thought proper to bring them to condign punishment.

'We have never known so quick and general a transition from a state of deep sorrow and gloom, to great joy, as on this occasion. We have, indeed, known times of danger, and want, and sickness; but never a season of such universal consternation and anxiety among all people, as was occasioned by the late measure, which threatened us and our posterity with perpetual bondage and slavery. For they are really slaves, who are obliged to labor and toil only for the benefit of others; or, which is the same thing, the fruit of whose labor and industry may be lawfully taken from them without their consent, and they punished if they refuse to surrender it on demand, or apply it to other purposes than such as their masters, of their mere grace and pleasure, see fit to allow. Nor can American understandings distinguish between this being done by a single person, under the title of an absolute monarch, and being done by a distant legislature, in which they are not represented, and the members of which, instead of feeling and sharing equally with them in the burden imposed, are eased of their own in proportion to the greatness and weight of it. So that our late apprehensions and consternation, for ourselves and posterity, were far indeed from being groundless. For what is there in this world more wretched, than for those who were born free, and have a right to continue so, to be made slaves, and to

p 12

think of leaving their posterity slaves also? Or what wonder is it, if, after groaning with a low voice for a while to no purpose, we at length groaned so loudly, as to be heard more than *three thousand miles*, and to be pitied through Europe, wherever it is not hazardous to mention the name of liberty, unless to reproach it as another name for sedition, faction, and rebellion?

'The general discontent operated differently on different minds, according to their education, religious principles, or prudential maxims. Some thought it very imprudent and hazardous to oppose superior power, but the greater part, as I believe, were firmly united in a consistent, however imprudent or desperate a plan, to run all risques, and to meet all hazards, if things were driven to extremities, rather than to submit; preferring death itself to what they considered so wretched and inglorious a servitude. And even 'of devout women not a few' were, I imagine, so far metamorphosed into men, on this sad occasion, that they would have declined hardly any kind of laborious exertions, rather than live to propagate a race of slaves, or to be so themselves. The alarm of some was increased by a fear that the money to be raised by the stamp act would be applied to pay the salaries of certain civil officers, by which they would become more dependent on the crown and less on the people, and therefore, probably, more arbitrary and insolent. Others were anxious, because they thought, (with how much reason you can best judge,) the money was to be applied towards maintaining a standing army in America; not to defend the colonies, but to awe them into an implicit submission to ministerial measures, however unjust and oppressive. There is no end, you know, to people's fears and jealousies, when they are once alarmed; and so some suspected that this money was partly intended to maintain a standing army of bishops and other ecclesiastics, to propagate the importance of certain rites and ceremonies; the divine right of *diocesan episcopacy* and *tythes*, with many *et ceteras* of the like sacred and interesting importance. These strange notions and fears prevailed very much among certain odd people who liked their old religion, and were not able to see the reasonableness of their paying for the support of another. I am not accountable for other people's whimsical apprehensions; and I am only speaking of the perplexity into which the minds of the people were thrown by the novel taxation, according to their different views of it; a taxation probably never thought of till a few years ago, when it was proposed to a great and good secretary of state, who was too friendly to the colonies, as well as too wise to *burn his fingers with an American stamp act.*

'This diversity of sentiments and opinions produced great animosities and reproaches, so that it was hardly safe for any one to speak his thoughts on the times, unless he could patiently bear to lie under the imputation of being a coward, an incendiary, rebel, or enemy to his country. These were some of the bitter and natural fruits of the unhappy measure referred to. Nor were we, indeed, unapprehensive of something worse, and that was, of British subjects making war on British subjects on this continent. And what would have been the issue? Nothing less, probably, than the ruin of the colonies, and the downfall of a great kingdom which has long been the envy and the glory of Europe. I have myself sometimes had such apprehensions, nor was I singular in this respect. One of the greatest statesmen in England* is reported to have lately expressed himself thus: 'On a good, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But on this ground, (the stamp act,) I am one who will lift my hand against it. In such a cause your success may be hazardous. America, if she fall, would fall like a strong man, would embrace the pillars of the state and pull down the constitution along with her.' If Britain, which has long been the principal support of liberty in Europe, and is the chief bulwark against that most execrable of all tyrannies, popery, should, in destroying her colonies, destroy herself, what would become of those few states which are now free?'

In June, 1766, a few weeks only before his death, Dr. Mayhew addressed the following letter to his friend, James Otis, the eloquent and justly celebrated patriot of Massachusetts; which shows the deep interest he took in the subject of civil liberty in America; his sincere and ardent patriotism; and the opinion he entertained of the importance of a union of action and measures by all the colonies, at that alarming period. It is believed that he frequently had interviews with the leading characters among the friends of liberty, to consult on proper measures to be adopted for the preservation of their political rights, and the continuance of their ancient charter privileges; and the exclusive authority to lay taxes and to regulate the internal affairs of the province, by the legislative assembly here, composed of the representatives of the whole people to be taxed and governed. It is known that he was intimate with Samuel Adams and John Adams, James Bowdoin and James Otis, with John Hancock and R. T. Paine, who were among the most intelligent and active of those called the whigs of that day. His letters to Mr. Hollis, of England, during 1765, and the former part of 1766, will also prove his generous anxiety for the liberties of his country, and display the ardor of his patriotism.

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* Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham

8/
Sunday
was the
eighth

'Lord's-day Morning, June 8, 1766.

'Sir,—To a good man all time is holy enough; and none is too holy to do good, or to think upon it. Cultivating a good understanding and hearty friendship between these colonies, appears to me so necessary a part of prudence and good policy, that no favorable opportunity for that purpose should be omitted. I think such an one now presents.

'Would it not be proper and decorous for our assembly to send circulars to all the rest, on the late repeal of the stamp act, and the present favorable aspect of affairs? Letters conceived at once in terms of friendship and regard, of loyalty to the king, filial affection towards the parent country, and expressing a desire to cement and perpetuate union among ourselves, by all laudable methods. A good foundation for this measure has been already laid by the late congress in New-York;* which, in my poor opinion, was a wise measure, and contributed not a little towards our obtaining lately a redress of grievances. Pursuing this course, or never losing sight of it, may be of the greatest importance to the colonies, perhaps the only means of perpetuating their liberties.

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* Composed of committees from six colonies; the others not appointing any for the purpose. They were chosen 'to consult together on the present state of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are or must be subject by the

'It is not safe for the colonies to sleep; for it is probable they will always have some wakeful enemies in Great Britain. But if they should be such children as to do so, I hope there are some too much of men, and too great friends to them as well as to liberty, to rock the cradle, or to sing lullaby to them.

'You have heard of the communion of churches; and I am to set out to-morrow morning for Rutland,* to assist at an ecclesiastical council. Not expecting to return this week, while I was thinking of this in my bed, the great use and importance of a communion of colonies appeared to me in a strong light; which led me immediately to set down these hints, to transmit to you. Not knowing but the general court may be prorogued or *dissolved* before my return, or my having an opportunity to speak with you, I now give them, that you may make such use of them as you think proper, or none at all.†

'I have had a sight of the answer ‡ to the governor's last very extraordinary speech; with which I was much pleased. It appears to me solid and judicious; and though spirited, not more so than the case required, unless we can be content to have an absolute, uncontrolable, instead of a limited and constitutional governor. I cannot think he will have one wise and good man, much less one truly great man in England, to stand by him, in so open and flagrant an attack on

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late acts of parliament for levying duties and taxes on the people here; and to consider of a general and united, dutiful and humble representation of their condition to the king and parliament, and to implore relief.'

* Dr. Mayhew returned sick, by the labors of that council, of which he was secretary, and which had many difficult disputes to hear and decide upon: a nervous fever followed, which put a period to his useful and honorable life.

† Circulars were sent, some time after, to all the other colonies—but nearly two years later, and on the court being *dissolved* by governor Bernard. But nothing was done at this session on the subject.

‡ The committee who prepared it were J. Otis, S. Adams, T. Cushing, and J. Hawley.

our character, rights, and privileges.* But the less asperity of language the better, provided there is firmness in adhering to our rights, and in opposition to all encroachments.'

Dr. Mayhew attended the council to which he alludes in his letter to Mr. Otis, on the 10th of June, at Rutland, which was convened by the mutual request of Rev. Thomas Frink, the pastor, and of some aggrieved members of the church. The council was composed of the pastors of five churches, with a delegate from each church. Mr. Williams, of Springfield, Mr. Storer, of Watertown, Mr. Parsons, of Amherst, Mr. Breck, of Springfield, and Dr. Mayhew were the pastors. The complaints were from some members of the church against their pastor, for arbitrary, severe, and partial conduct, in the government and discipline of the church. No charge of immoral conduct, strictly speaking, was alleged; and, happily, no accusation of heresy. So that the council had only to inquire into the evidence of partial, severe, and arbitrary acts in the pastor who was accused. But this was a very difficult and onerous business; for the charges related to numerous instances of such improper treatment. Six days were occupied in the hearing; and the result was an unanimous vote of censure for arbitrary and improper proceedings on the part of Mr. Frink; and of advice for his dismissal, as his usefulness was probably at an end in that place. Dr. Mayhew, much fatigued both in body and mind by the investigation, and returning in wet weather and on horseback, when he was much exposed, reached home quite out of health. A fever followed, which, after several days of alternate hope and fear to his family, parish, and friends, proved mortal on the ninth day of July; and overwhelmed his beloved flock, and a large circle of religious friends, and the community in general, with deep and sincere sorrow. He was scarcely forty-six years old, and his fame, and influence, and usefulness, were great and increasing. His correspondents in England were much afflicted at the report of his death. In Boston and vicinity, where he was best known, his early decease was deeply deplored, alike by the friends of civil liberty and of liberal Christianity. There was, indeed, one general expression of sorrow, on account of his premature death. Several of the clergy, who had kept aloof from him during his public ministry, because of his alleged heresy on some points of theology, appeared anxious for his recovery when ill, and held a day of prayer that his useful life might be spared; and some of the episcopal clergy in Boston composed affectionate and charitable collects on the occasion. Rev. Dr. Sewall visited him, with a particular view to learn his sentiments on the trinity, having been requested by some of his church to interrogate him on that subject; but, on his return, he told them he found Dr. Mayhew in such a resigned and happy frame of mind, that he did not think it proper to *catechise* him about his speculative faith; and added, 'I believe he loves the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, sincerely.' Rev. Dr. S. Cooper, his early college friend, but who seems not to have had very close fellowship with him as a minister, also visited Dr. Mayhew in his last sickness, and was desirous to learn if he held unwaveringly to his particular theological views; and received for answer—'*My integrity I hold fast, and will not let it go.*' And thus departed this great and good man; without disguise, and without doubts of either the foundation or correctness of his faith.

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* The speech was full of censures and denunciations of the people of Massachusetts, representing them as turbulent, lawless, and disloyal.

The death of Dr. Mayhew was honorably noticed in the public papers of the day; and two able delineations of his character appeared, as obituary memorials of his learning and piety. One was written by Hon. Harrison Gray, and the other by Edmund Quincy, Jr., both of whom were members of Dr. Mayhew's church. The first, written by Mr. Gray, is more full and discriminating than the other; and yet that is drawn up with judgment, and by one who knew how to appreciate the character and talents of the eminent man whom he eulogized.

'On Wednesday, the ninth instant, died, universally lamented, that learned, faithful, and laborious servant of Christ, the Rev. JONATHAN MAYHEW, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and in the twentieth year of his ministry. We have abundant reason to believe that the grace of God took possession of his heart in early life. When at the college, his religious conduct, no ways inconsistent with a close application to his studies, was observed by all his contemporaries. How often did he reprove them for indulging in those vices, which are too common to a collegiate life! When he entered into the ministry, I have reason to think that he had passed from death unto life, and that he had the full assurance of the love of God to his soul. He was allowed by all to be a gentleman of superior natural abilities; to which was added an uncommon stock of acquired learning, which he amassed with unwearied pains and diligence; esteemed by all men of sense who knew him, or who were acquainted with his writings, to be as brilliant a genius as ever this country produced. He has left but few equals, and not one superior behind. It would have been an honor even to Oxford, to have it said, that this man was educated there. His ministerial qualifications must be acknowledged, by those who are competent judges, to have greatly exceeded the common rate. He was an able and sound divine, making the holy scriptures his only rule of faith and practice, and despising the shackles of creeds and confessions.

'Dr. Mayhew was a great advocate for primitive Christianity, and zealously contended for the faith once delivered to the saints: a true believer of the doctrines of grace, as revealed in the holy scriptures; and a gentleman of an unspotted life and conversation. By his close application to the study of the sacred volume, he heaped up an immense treasure of scripture knowledge; out of which, as a scribe well instructed in the kingdom of heaven, he brought forth things new and old.

'Doctor Mayhew had a serious, argumentative and pathetic manner of preaching, calculated, by the divine blessing, to reach the conscience, as well as to inform the understanding. When he was preaching, the hearers were all attention; he impressed their minds, and captivated their hearts. And when explaining any of the great doctrines of the gospel, he would do it in so clear and familiar a manner, that persons of the lowest capacity could not but understand him. He had also a warm imagination and a lively fancy; and seemed to have a deep impression of all the great subjects of religion upon his own heart. And when he spake of them, he did it with such clearness and elevation, with such force and power of persuasion, as it was not in the power of his hearers to resist. He had an uncommon concern for the youth of his congregation, and many of his sermons were particularly adapted to them; an excellent volume of which, at their desire, was published: so that though he is dead, he yet speaketh to them.

'The Doctor always spoke his mind with great freedom, being an utter stranger to that cursed fear of man which bringeth a snare. If he had too much simplicity for this world, it was an error on the right side; better so than not have enough for the other. He was a hearty lover of all good men, let their peculiar sentiments, in some points of doctrine, be ever so different from his. He was a fair disputant; never argued for the sake of victory, but for truth. This being the principle upon which he acted, both in his private disputation and public performances, he scorned to make use of any arguments he did not consider weighty, though he knew they must gravel his opponents. He forced his own sentiments on no man; but allowed all the enjoyment of that liberty, wherewith the Son of God hath made them free. This benevolence was diffusive to persons of all persuasions. He had a great aversion to dissimulation in every shape; and he was a sincere and hearty lover of truth.

'He was far, very far from allowing himself to practise any little arts of deceit. With a generous indignation, he would forego the fairest opportunity of promoting his own interest, if the way to it was not open and direct. He was of a frank, open, and generous mind. However deep his capacity reached in matters of science, yet in social life he was so void of all reserve that you might see through him. He affirmed, and you believed him; he promised, and you trusted him; you knew him, and you loved him.

'But, alas! he is gone, and we shall see his face no more. It is one of the intricacies of providence, that men of bright parts and shining genius, endowed with such great talents, and being sanctified by divine grace, so eminently serviceable to mankind, should be taken out of the world in the midst of their days and usefulness; while others of quite contrary character should be suffered to live even to old age. 'How unsearchable are thy ways, O Lord, and thy judgments past finding out!' This is certainly an argument in favor of a future state, when all the seeming inequalities of this life will be rectified, and men shall be fully rewarded according to the deeds done in the body. However, to use our departed and honored friend's words on another occasion—'Not he who draws and respires this vital air the oftenest; not he who sleeps the most nights, nor wakes the most days; not he who passes through the most summers and winters; in fine, not he who sees the most suns and seasons rolling over him in succession—this is not he who lives the longest, or who dies the most maturely. There is another, a far juster standard of age, of life, and death. And he who liveth the most usefully, the most to the proper ends and purposes of life, lives both the most honorably and the longest, and makes the most mature as well as most glorious exit. *For honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time, or is measured by number of years: but wisdom is gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.*'

The following paragraphs, from the obituary notice attributed to Mr. Quincy, may justly be added to the above character of Dr. Mayhew, by Mr. Gray.

'Wednesday last, died here, (Boston,) greatly and sincerely lamented by all who knew him, Rev. JONATHAN MAYHEW, D. D., aged 46: a friend of liberty and learning, a lover of mankind, and an uniform disciple of Jesus Christ. In the year 1747, and soon after he had finished his studies at Cambridge, he was called to the pastoral care of West Church in Boston; which he accepted, promising, like a true Christian, to make the word of God his only rule of faith and practice, and steadfastly refusing to teach for divine doctrines the commands of men. In this charge he continued till his death; 'loving his people and by them beloved;' explaining with manly fortitude, the truths contained in the bible, however discountenaced; esteeming the approbation of his Father in heaven, far before the applause of the world; inculcating, by his preaching and conduct, the doctrines of grace, as he thought them delivered by our Lord and his apostles, and that religion which is from above, and is full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

'In his early productions, his uncommon talents and generous independence of spirit, are eminently conspicuous: And though, for his opposition to all priestly usurpations of authority over the consciences of men, he had soon to encounter the whole force of enthusiasm and bigotry, his strength of mind, integrity of soul, and unconquerable resolution in his Master's service, supported him under every discouragement, and enabled him to triumph over all his adversaries; while his respect for and observance of the precepts of the gospel convinced the world of the sincerity and uprightness of his heart. His works already published will transmit his name to posterity, under the endearing character of a steady and able advocate for religious and civil liberty; and of a firm believer and constant practiser of pure and undefiled religion.

'If at any time, through the warmth of his feelings, his zeal in the cause of religion and truth, and his aversion to the commands of man in the church of Christ, he was hurried beyond the bounds of moderation, his many virtues and great services towards establishing Christianity on the most enlarged foundation, abundantly atone for such defects. Indeed, the natural keenness and poignancy of his wit, whetted often by cruel and unchristian usage, must palliate his severest strokes of satire. Nor will these light objections depreciate his general reputation, if it be remembered, that in his most social hours he invariably sustained the united character of a Christian and a gentleman.

'From the influence of his extensive correspondence with some of the wisest and best men in the English nation, that seminary of learning in which he was educated, received many valuable donations. And if that seat of literature has not lost a *wealthy* benefactor, it is deprived of one, who, by his influence, would have proved one, and who was a friend to that *freedom of education* which is necessary to the well-being of any academy designed for the improvement of youth and the benefit of mankind.'*

Rev. Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, Rev. Dr. Gay, of Hingham, Rev. John Brown, of Cohasset, published sermons, delivered soon after the decease of Dr. Mayhew, by request of the church and society of which he had been the pastor; in which his character is justly delineated, and eulogized. They were his personal friends, and of similar theological sentiments and views. They speak of him as an able theologian, a ripe scholar, a powerful writer, a faithful minister of the gospel, and a man of great piety and benevolence.† Dr. Andrew Eliot also gave him a high and just character, in a sermon preached soon after his decease; but it was not published, nor was it delivered by the special request of Dr. Mayhew's society. Dr. Eliot bore ample testimony to the ability and virtues of Dr. Mayhew, after his death; particularly as to his able management of the controversy on episcopacy; but he seems not to have been one of the intimate friends of that independent and bold advocate for freedom of religious inquiry. And, in this respect, Dr. Cooper may be classed with Dr. Eliot. No doubt, they differed somewhat in their views of the doctrines of revelation from Dr. Mayhew; but his great integrity, sincerity, fidelity and piety, (especially as he held to all the fundamental and practical doctrines of the gospel,) should have secured their real friendship and public recognition of his worth, without any influence from the wishes of their weak brethren.

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* Mr. Quincy refers to his character, also, as an excellent husband, father, neighbor and pastor; and says his funeral was attended by the most numerous procession ever known in Boston.

† Mr. Hollis, however, was not entirely satisfied with the character given of his lamented friend. Dr. Chauncy's sermon was sent him, and he said he thought it did not full justice to so able and virtuous a man as Dr. Mayhew: and yet he spoke in strong terms of admiration of his worth. 'I freely own,' said Dr. Chauncy, in his sermon, 'I have no want of inclination to do all the honor and justice in my power to the memory of one so richly accomplished. Nor will any one suspect the truth of what I say, who knows the friendship there was between us; which began on his first becoming a preacher of the gospel, and has continued ever since, with mutual esteem, confidence, and delight. I can truly say, as David did of his friend, 'I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been to me.' '—Dr. Gay observed, in his funeral discourse, 'Dr. Mayhew was a man of uncommon worth; clearly distinguished from most of his brethren, in the eminency of his personal accomplishments, which render one peculiarly estimable and beloved. My heart overflows with affectionate regard for his precious memory. And your faithful recollections, my brethren, the people of his charge, will represent to you how amiable the dear man of God was, in the lustre of his virtues, and the numerous excellent attributes of his high character.'

The society, which Dr. Mayhew had instructed and served as a christian minister for nearly twenty years, with uncommon ability, fidelity, and affection, were sincere and deep mourners at his death. They considered his loss as almost irreparable. Their attachment and respect for him knew no limits. As they knew him best, they loved and esteemed him more than any people less acquainted with his numerous virtues. The notices of his character, by Mr. Gray and Mr. Quincy, are proof of this. The regard of the society for the memory of their beloved pastor, was manifested by their kindness to his amiable widow, and his family. Their generosity to Mrs. Mayhew was very conspicuous and exemplary.

By request of some of Dr. Mayhew's particular friends in Boston, who knew of the long correspondence between him and Mr. Hollis, of London, Mr. E. Quincy wrote to the latter, informing him of the death of his friend, at an early day after the melancholy event.

'The situation of this country,'* he says, 'and the desire of several friends of the late Dr. Mayhew, have prevailed on me to acquaint you with the death of that great and good man—that friend and patron of religious and civil liberty. To express the loss we have sustained, would be as impossible as to do strict justice to his character. The *church* already begins to exult in our misfortune and loss; but we doubt not that He, 'who is able to raise up of *stones*' defenders of our rights, both civil and sacred, will send us other Mayhews.'

In reply to this letter, Mr. Hollis writes—'The death of that able, good public man, Dr. Mayhew, my old and much esteemed friend, has grieved me much. He seems to have died through overstrained application and philantrophy.'

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* It should be remembered that several of the last letters of Dr. Mayhew to Mr. Hollis, related to the political dispute then begun with England; it being the all-absorbing subject of inquiry in 1765 and 1766. Mr. Quincy had been to England a few years before, and carried letters to Mr. Hollis from Dr. Mayhew.

Hon. Harrison Gray, who was one of Dr. Mayhew's church, and an intimate personal friend, also wrote Mr. Hollis, on this occasion ; and spoke in the warmest terms of his moral worth, as well as of his talents and learning, and mentioned the universal sorrow manifested at his death. In Mr. Gray's letter, there is particular reference to the widow of Dr. Mayhew ; who, he says, 'is a fine, accomplished lady, admired, and almost adored, by the whole society. Her loss is very great ; for there never was a more happy connexion on earth.' *

Mr. Hollis, in reply to Mr. Gray's letter, says, he is obliged by it, as containing many valuable particulars relating to his late 'highly esteemed friend, the incomparable Dr. Mayhew ;' and for the interesting obituary notice written by Mr. Gray.

Mrs. Mayhew also saw fit to address a letter to Mr. Hollis, on this, to her, most afflictive event. The sincerity of friendship and regard manifested by Mr. Hollis for her late beloved husband, and the general character of Mr. Hollis for honor, candor, and benevolence, induced her, no doubt, to write to a personal stranger, on the occasion. The letter was as follows:

'Honored Sir,—I hope you will excuse the freedom I take in writing, when you know that I am the sorrowful widow of one who was honored with your friendship and under great obligation to you for repeated favors. The Doctor departed this life on the 9th of this instant, July, of an obstinate nervous fever in his head, which often deprived him of his senses. I am bereaved of the best of husbands, and my children of the kindest of earthly parents.†

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* It is said Mr. Gray offered his hand to Mrs. Mayhew, about a year and a half after the death of her husband. But it appears that she preferred Rev. Mr. Howard, who succeeded Dr. Mayhew as pastor of the West church, and who was a highly estimable character. And yet Mr. Gray was one of the most respectable gentlemen in Boston ; not only opulent, but a man of talent, accomplishments and virtue. Probably she preferred a clergyman.

† Dr. Mayhew left two children. One died young, and a few months after his own death ; and one long survived him—a highly cultivated and intelligent lady, the wife of Peter Wainwright, Esq.

'I hope I shall be able to behave like a Christian, under this heavy trial, which it has pleased God to bring upon me. It is my sincere prayer, that He would sanctify it to you and to all his friends.* And may you be richly rewarded for all the kindness you have shown him who is now dead!

'Your books, sent in May, were not received here, till after my husband's decease; so that he went out of the world without knowing what additional bonds of gratitude he was under to you. I shall take great care of your letters to the Doctor; and whatever orders you may please to give, with reference to any thing you have written to him, shall be punctually complied with.

'I own myself, sir, on the Doctor's account, vastly obliged to you; and am, with all respect, your desolate friend,

'ELIZABETH MAYHEW.'

Mr. Hollis replied to the above from Mrs. Mayhew, under date of Oct. 4, 1766.

'MADAM,—The greatest consolation I have received since the death of the late incomparable Dr. Mayhew, your husband and my much esteemed friend, has been to observe the magnanimity with which you have conducted on this sad and trying occasion. I pray God to maintain it to you, and to shelter you, on all accounts, accomplished, excellent lady, with his special protection.

'The character, in manuscript, of that great private, public man, Dr. Mayhew, though ingenious, is not fully equal to him; and the sermon is less so.† I received Dr. Mayhew's letter of May last, and several copies of a master sermon preached by him, on occasion of the repeal of the stamp act, which were distributed as he desired, and according to my best judgment. A few prints from you, madam, of Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., an unswerving, magnanimous assertor of truth and liberty, even unto the death,* would be truly acceptable to me, and to my friends. I am soon going into the country for retirement, which I need; and cannot therefore enter into new correspondence, however, otherwise desirable; which I would be glad were well known in Boston.† But at all times I shall be unfeignedly pleased to receive your letters, madam; and I have the honor to profess myself, with the highest respect, your assured friend, T. H.'

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* This must not be considered as *canting*. Both the character of Mrs. Mayhew and Mr. Hollis forbid it. Mr. Hollis was not a man to be pleased with any mere *pretences* of religion; and Mrs. Mayhew not likely to use any.

† The sermon is believed to be Dr. Chauncy's; and the character in manuscript, either that by Mr. Gray or Mr. Quincy. Mr. Hollis thought enough was not said of the ability and power of Dr. Mayhew's writings.

In this letter, Mr. Hollis enclosed a bank note for one hundred pounds, made out to Mrs. Elizabeth Mayhew, Boston, without any other notice of it. This was the act of a sincere friend, and a truly benevolent man.

Mr. Hollis well knew that Dr. Mayhew was not a rich man; and that, not having much wordly wisdom, he had probably left Mrs. Mayhew almost destitute. Perhaps he was not aware that her father was a man of property.

In a letter to Rev. Dr. A. Eliot, of Boston, dated Sept. 1766, who had previously written to Mr. Hollis by request of the corporation of Harvard college, the latter observes: 'A few books, which I intended for that excellent man—why *seemingly* no more!—I now request a place for in your study. The similarity of your turn, as appears by your sermon on my late honored friend, the regularities of your education, the fulness of your character, your age, station, power, and will to render public service, all have concurred with me, though retiring into the country, to take this measure—(otherwise it might appear singular)—namely, opening a correspondence with a gentleman, though not unknown to him, yet not being apprised of Mr. Hollis's esteem for him.'

Mr. Hollis says, in this letter, that 'archdeacon Blackburn, (his and Dr. Eliot's friend,) stood no chance for promotion; for, *Sacerdos Rusticus*, (archb——p Secker,) would stick at nothing to prevent it. What is man, if he useth not his peculiar faculty? He is nothing. And if he does use it with energy and zeal, he is often destroyed. Once more, alas, Dr. Mayhew!'

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* This expression may refer to a letter of Dr. Mayhew to Mr. Hollis, in the latter part of 1765, in reply to one in which Mr. Hollis had said he was about to retire into the country to live; in which Dr. Mayhew observes—'I hope you will keep your station for the public good. I have my labors, also; but am determined to keep on under them, cost me what they may.'

† Mr. Gray and Mr. Quincy had both intimated a desire to correspond with Mr. Hollis; and he thought it proper to give this hint, by Mrs. Mayhew, to those gentlemen.

Mr. Hollis, in a letter to Mrs. Mayhew, May, 1768, says: 'The picture of the late Dr. Mayhew, my honored friend, your most excellent husband, is greatly valued by me, on many accounts; and will have its use also:* but I am sorry for the expense it has occasioned you. I request your acceptance of a book, the production of a master writer, [Blackburne,] an assertor, like his friend, the late Dr. Mayhew, of truth and liberty, at all times. You will observe in it a very handsome compliment to the memory of the Doctor, drawn in sober commendation. Madam, I pray God to bless you, and all the good people on your side of the water, our brethren, and all of us. We never had more need of his protection. With the highest esteem and respect, I profess myself your friend, &c.'

The reputation of Dr. Mayhew, as a learned and distinguished American divine, was not confined to Mr. Hollis and his particular friends. Rev. Mr. Harwood, of Bristol, England, in his 'Thoughts on Time and Eternity,' refers to the recent death of several eminent dissenting clergymen, in 1766; particularly, his father-in-law, Rev. Dr. S. Chandler, who had written much and ably in defence of the christian revelation, in answer to deistical writers; and who took a leading part in a plan for a comprehension or union between the church of England and the dissenters. Mr. Harwood mentions some other worthy ministers who had then lately deceased in Great Britain; and then refers to the death of Dr. Mayhew; who he describes as 'that distinguished assertor and advocate of civil and religious liberty, whose early death was deeply lamented by many in England.'

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* The following lines accompanied one of the pictures of Dr. Mayhew, in mezzotinto, sent by Mr. Hollis:

'The serpent, crosier-propt, high rear'd his head,
And through our world its poisonous vapor spread;
Till Mayhew to the dust the reptile frowned,
And from its fangs took all the power to wound.
Now, mitre-wreathed, upon thy belly go,
And be henceforth to man a harmless foe.
To modest worth thus mitred pride gives way,
And Lambeth's self to Mayhew yields the day.'

Mr. Hollis, on other occasions, afterwards, spoke in high terms of the abilities of Dr. Mayhew. Referring to a letter of the Rev. Dr. Chauncy, in 1768, relating to the conduct of the episcopal society in England, he says, 'It contains much plain, strong sense; but not the skill in composition, which a letter on a similar occasion and subject would have contained, if written by the late and never-enough lamented Dr. Mayhew.'

In a letter to Rev. Dr. A. Eliot, in 1768, Mr. Hollis says: 'I have sometime been of the opinion that political matters would issue in the way you seem to apprehend; and so was the late *excellent, though to some timid pates over-earnest*, Dr. Mayhew. You are an ungracious people—there is *original* sin in you—you are assertors of liberty, and the principles of the glorious revolution of 1688! How matters will end here, I, now a retired person, know not; but I fear in great confusion—badly.'

Rev. Dr. W. Harris, England, wrote to Dr. Mayhew, June 6, 1766, as follows, (but which did not reach Boston, till after his death,)—'I sincerely congratulate you on the repeal of the stamp act. It has given much satisfaction here, and it is hoped that, for the future, every thing will go on to mutual satisfaction. You will be pleased to accept of a few books, not so much for their merit, though many of them do not want it, as their supposed novelty with you. Two of them please present to your college in my name. You will see, by the date of the *missal*,* its value and importance.'

Rev. Mr. Towgood, England, in a letter to Dr. Chauncy, in March, 1767, speaking of Dr. Mayhew, says: 'I am one of many thousands who greatly lament the loss of that most important and valuable life.' And Rev. John Erskine, of Scotland, in one of his letters to Dr. Chauncy, the same year, observes: 'I was extremely sorry to hear of the death of Dr. Mayhew. Your liberties, civil and sacred, have lost an able defender, whose place cannot be easily supplied. The honest boldness and strength and spirit, with which he wrote, greatly pleased me, even when our sentiments were considerably different.'*

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* This, probably, is one of the Roman Catholic missals in the library of Harvard University, of about four hundred years old.

The Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, at the age of 86, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, said of Dr. Mayhew, the year after his decease: 'The *very* Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, was of a noble genius, acquainted with the best learning, a most laborious student, a polite writer, an able defender of the rights and liberties both of the church and state; and notwithstanding his different sentiments from me, I esteemed him as a truly pious, benevolent and useful man.'

By the agency of Mr. Hollis, a correspondence was begun in 1765, between Dr. Mayhew and archdeacon Blackburne; but, unfortunately, their few letters are lost. One, to Mrs. Mayhew, January, 1767, has been preserved, and some extracts cannot fail to be interesting.

'You will perceive by my former letter, how much I have been disappointed in my hope of cultivating a correspondence with the late excellent Dr. Mayhew, by the affecting account of his premature demise; and how much I must think the public has lost, also, by an event which has taken away so valuable a friend to, and so able a supporter of, the cause of public liberty. With these sentiments, it is impossible to be insensible of your distress, in being deprived of so incomparable a partner. A man of Dr. Mayhew's spirit and abilities, tempered with so much unaffected piety and warm benevolence, as are exhibited in the last letter I had the pleasure of receiving from him, must have made every one happy who had any connexion with him, and those the happiest who were the nearest to him. You will, therefore, good madam, easily believe that I sympathize with you in your affliction.

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* Dr. Erskine was an orthodox presbyterian, but a lover of all good men. He corresponded with Rev. Prof. Wigglesworth, and others in Massachusetts. The writer of this memoir has several of his letters, dated 1794 and 1795.

'The best and surest consolation under such a dispensation must arise from a humble and patient resignation, in full belief that the chastisement administered is right, and will end well. Such warm and active friends to the civil and religious rights of freemen and Christians, as Dr. Mayhew, can ill be spared in such times as these. So they, at least, believe, who have the important cause at heart, and such must feel deep regret, whenever any one of the fraternity is taken from them. In the mean time, the more immediate bitter part of this dispensation falls to your lot; with the intent, I trust, of the God of all comfort to open a way to manifold recompense, here and hereafter, in the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

'I have, in a great measure, forgot the contents of my letter to the late worthy Doctor. I can only remember that I had the strongest inclination to open myself to him with the utmost freedom; and possibly may have said something which I should not like to have communicated to some sorts of people on this side of the water.* The surest way of putting it out of all hazard, and to save yourself unnecessary trouble, will be to commit it to the flames, which I now request you would do. May our gracious God sanctify this sore visitation to you, by his future blessings on you and yours; and raise you up friends for your support, to which I can only contribute, at this distance, by my sincere prayers and warmest good wishes.'

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Some verses appeared, designed to celebrate the excellent character of Dr. Mayhew; and though it cannot justly be said that they possess very great merit as good poetry, they express the opinions of the writers, of the talents and virtues of the distinguished man they were intended to eulogise.

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* Mr. Blackburne, though a truly liberal man, being of the church of England, probably wrote some things to Dr. Mayhew which he had rather not have published. He was invited to be the pastor of a dissenting society, but declined it. And some one was pleased to say, 'that he had *weighty* reasons for so doing.'

The following lines were appended to the obituary notice of Dr. Mayhew, by E. Quincy; and, as it is not quoted, may be safely attributed to his pen.

Wrapt in his arms, who bled on Calv'ry's plain,
We murmur not—blest share!—nor dare complain:
Fled to those seats where perfect spirits shine,
We mourn our lot, yet still rejoice in thine.
Taught by thy tongue, by thy example led,
We bless thee, living, and revere thee, dead.
Pass'd from our view, our eyes no more shall see,
Or truth, our ears again receive from thee:
Yet long our hearts thy precepts shall retain—
Deep in our memory thy love remain:
Our care be still in virtuous deeds to vie;
Our constant prayer, like thee to live and die.

The writer of the following lines, referring to the print of Dr. Mayhew, is unknown, as well as the person who wrote those immediately after.

What though the artist's curious touch may paint,
Or strike an *outside* of th' ascended saint?
Deep in our breasts, a surer *print* is wrought,
Who saw him live,—the *virtues* that he taught.
Bright in his *conduct*, beam'd the good man's ray;
Sweet in his converse flow'd th' enliven'd day;
Fair in his labors, texts divine explain'd;
The head enlighten'd, in the heart remain'd:
Just, wise, and good—as freedom's champion bold—
Truth, his religion—charity, his gold.
Such once was Mayhew!—such his glorious end!
Ask you, what proof?—a Hollis was his friend.

On noticing the above lines, which represent Hollis's friendship for Dr. Mayhew as the only evidence that the Doctor was a great and good man:

Mayhew had many friends—Hollis was one—
They loved him living, and lament him gone:
With pious gratitude, they bless his name;
Their warm affection, and his worth proclaim.

But is it from this that *all* his praises rise?
And this *alone* which proves him good and wise?
—That boundless science, reason's brightest ray,
Pour'd on his mind a clear and cloudless day? *
That virtue's laws, which God has kindly given,
To teach weak, erring man the way to heaven;
Were deep imprinted on his godlike breast,
And in his fair example *all* express'd? †
That love to God and love to man combined,
E'er made him pious, faithful, just, and kind? ‡
With such a life, must not his end be peace;
His soul now happy in the realms of bliss?
—That this is true, his very foes confess §—
Nor dares e'en cankering envy's self do less.
But where's the proof?—you ask—I'll tell you, friend:
The learned volumes, which his hand has penn'd,
Contain full proof. Go read them, and be taught
How well he reason'd, and how just he thought;
How heaven-born freedom charm'd his generous heart;
How much he scorned all guile, and every vicious art;
How pure devotion taught his soul to rise,
And all the grandeur of the earth despise;
Replete with every virtue how he stood;
Prepared to serve, or to enjoy his God.
And as, with serious joy, the page you read,
And hear him still divinely speak, 'though dead'—
Strive, if you can, that sacred flame to feel,
Which filled his breast with love and holy zeal.
For, if unmov'd by his persuasive pen,
A dupe to folly, and a slave to sin,

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* Mayhew was a scholar; but his good sense and powerful reasoning were his greatest praise.

† He had a deep sense of moral obligation, and his private conduct was remarkably correct and upright.

‡ Piety to God and benevolence to man, were with him the sum of religion; the substance of the law and the prophets; and the two great precepts of Christ in the gospel.

§ It was observed by an orthodox minister in Boston, soon after the death of Dr. Mayhew, that he had no rancor against the memory of the Doctor, but esteemed him highly for many excellent things in his character; especially for his singular integrity and uprightness, in which he was a shining example for all his brethren in the ministry.

You still remain—there's none but God alone
Can move your heart, so wholly turn'd to stone.

O you, who loved him most, who knew him best,
And by him most were loved and most were blest ;
Who shared the treasures of his honest mind,
Pour'd forth in friendly converse, unconfin'd—
Who saw his virtues, his wise counsels heard ;
Still strove to please him, to offend him fear'd !
You 're bound by every tie, to keep in mind,
The sacred counsels which he left behind ;
The false, destructive ways of sin to flee,
And practice justice, love, and piety.
For this he trim'd the lamp, he pray'd, he preach'd ;
For this he warn'd, instructed, and beseech'd :
And his last will requires you all to give
Your hearts to God, and by his precepts live.

O, when his clear, instructive page you scan,
Transplant his virtues, make them all your own.
That once you loved him, thus you best will prove,
And all will own that you deserv'd his love ;
And thus you 'll honor his immortal name,
His wisdom and his goodness best proclaim ;
And when, like him, you quit this mortal scene,
You 'll meet in heaven your pious friend again.

The following lines appeared in a Boston paper, soon after the death of Dr. Mayhew.

Ah, Mayhew ! art thou then *forever* gone ?
No—I oft have seen the bright descending sun
Leave the blue arch, and threaten endless night ;
Yet rise again, and bless the world with light !
Thus in thy works shalt thou, for aye revolving, shine,
And prove the hand which formed them was divine ;
Till that great day, when night shall be no more,
And tyrants cease to persecute the poor ;
When none shall dread the bigot's cruel rod,
But ev'ry upright heart rejoice in God.

These lines appeared in a London paper, just *before* the death of Dr. Mayhew; but the writer was not known.

No broken laws e'er marr'd thy cloudless day,
Nor faith nor practice bore a various sway:
Spotless thy name, in deathless annals shine;
Mayhew—the great, the virtuous, the divine!
In vain may Baal court thy temp'rate taste
With all the viands of an impious feast:
The ways of folly thou hast never known;
Thy upright life thy holy faith hath shown;
Thy foes the foolish, and thy friends the wise:
Still bid thy people to their promised skies;
Higher in fame thy infant country raise,
And let Brittania still with wonder praise.
Go on, great man, and let all Europe see
Her proudest worthies are eclipsed by thee!

An inscription for Dr. Mayhew's picture, which came from Mr. Hollis, of London.

A pictured shade!—O, Mayhew, can this be
All that thine Hollis can redeem of thee?
Can all that generous friend's devoted store,
To bless lamenting thousands, save no more?
O early lost!—how poignant, how severe!
O resignation! hard is thy duty here!
His blest example, while he lived the way,
Might tutor angels for a future day.
Slow, dun oblivion, be thy mantle spread,
To weep o'er Mayhew, with the nameless dead!
Death, thus defeated, mourns his blunted dart,
Which fails to tear his victim from the heart—
While fond remembrance, faithful to her trust,
Deep in the conscious bosom stamps the just.
Let Hollis, skill'd in all which science gives,
Point to thy labors, say—here Mayhew lives.

The following lines are from a poem, delivered at the public commencement, Harvard university, 1792, by Robert T. Paine, a young man of genius and learning. He was the second son of Hon. R. T. Paine, late of Boston, some time a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court, and who has been already noticed in this volume. He was a personal friend of Dr. Mayhew, and usually attended West Church when in Boston. His opinion of the talents of Dr. Mayhew was such, that he often spoke of him as the first of patriots, and the ablest of advocates for religious liberty, in New-England. From him, the son had the character of that great man.

—THUS raged the horrors of despotic sway,
Till Albion welcom'd freedom's dawning ray;
Which, like the herald of returning light,
Beam'd through the clouds of intellectual night.
But here environ'd was the human path,
Cramp'd the free mind, and chain'd the choice of faith.
Religious despots form'd the impious plan
To lord it o'er the consciences of man.
This galling yoke our sires could bear no more;
They fled for freedom to Columbia's shore.
Truth for their object, virtue for their guide,
They brav'd the dangers of an unknown tide.
The Patriarch's God, of old, preserved the ark,
And freedom's guardian watch'd the patriot bark.
The shrine of freedom and of truth to rear,
They left those scenes, which social life endear;
To Britain's courts, preferr'd the savage den—
The free-born Indian, to dependant man.
For this, the parting tear of friendship fell;
For this, they bade their parent soil farewell.
In these dark wilds, they fix'd the deep-laid stone,
On which fair freedom since has reared her throne.
But still a cloud their civil views confin'd,
And gloom'd the prospect of the pious mind;
While Britain claim'd with laws our rights to lead,
And faith was fetter'd by a bigot's creed.
Then mental freedom first her power display'd,
And call'd a MAYHEW to religion's aid.
For this great truth, he boldly led the van,
That private judgment was a right of man.
Mayhew disdained that soul-contracting view
Of sacred truth, which zealous phrensy drew;
He sought religion's fountain-head to drink,
And preached what others only dared to think:

He loos'd the mind from superstition's awe,
And broke the sanction of opinion's law.
Truth gave his mind electric's subtle spring,
A Chatham's lightning, and a Milton's wing.
Mayhew has cleans'd the bigot's filmy eye,
And well explored religion's native sky ;
Where, ever radiant in immortal youth,
Shines the clear sun of inexhausted truth ;
Where time's vast ocean like a drop would seem,
The world a pebble, and yon sun a beam—
He struck that spark, whose genial warmth we feel,
In heavenly charity's fraternal zeal.

Extempore lines on the death of an infant child of Dr. Mayhew, which died about two months after the decease of its parent.

HEAVEN formed the BUD, presaging richest fruit,
But sees the soil unfitted for the root ;
Transplants the tender *sapling*, e'er 'twas thriven,
To flourish with its parent-tree in heaven.

At his death, Dr. Mayhew was forty-five years and nine months old ; having been born October, 1720. He received his degree of D. D. in February, 1750—which is mentioned here, as in a former part of the volume it is stated to have been in 1751.

CHAPTER XII.

Peculiar traits and excellencies in the character of Dr. Mayhew—Reference to his theological opinions and writings—His correspondents and literary contemporaries, &c.

The peculiar traits of Dr. Mayhew's character, both intellectual and moral, are, in a good measure, exhibited in the memoir now presented of his life and writings: but it may not be improper to offer a general and more direct notice of them, though it be only a recapitulation of former remarks. The moral character of Dr. Mayhew was 'unimpeached and unimpeachable.' Nor is it meant that it was so, merely according to the standard of men of the world, however honorable and honest that requires one to be. High moral principle and a genuine christian spirit, were his uniform director and guide. Believing the great doctrines of natural religion, and receiving the scriptures as a record of divine revelation, he had no doubt of his obligations to piety, righteousness, and charity, or of his accountability to the great Judge of all, for a strict and hearty obedience to the requirements of the gospel. He was, therefore, free and independent in his inquiries as to the true doctrines of natural and revealed religion, and open and fearless in professing and advocating them. Popularity and distinction were far less his object, than truth, duty, and a good conscience. By impartial inquiry, he was led to quite different views of some doctrines received among Christians; but he did not hesitate to express them, on proper occasions, through fear of censure from the ignorant, the weak and the superstitious, though these made the majority in the community. And yet his conduct gave such evidence of honesty, impartiality, and reverence for revealed truth, that many highly orthodox clergymen spoke of him with great respect and esteem. Rev. Dr. John Erskine, of Edinburgh, and Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, gave their testimony, not only to his ability, but his piety and his truly christian spirit and conduct. Rev. Mr. Hobart, of Connecticut, esteemed him as a sincere and devoted disciple of Christ, while he regretted that he had written any thing against the doctrine of the trinity, or denied that the Son was of the same essence and equal to the Father. Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, always held open, christian fellowship with him, even when most others stood aloof from him ; yet Dr. Appleton was professedly a calvinist. But most of the clergy 'stood apart' from Dr. Mayhew, especially for the first part of his ministry ; for they wanted his courage and his preference for religious truth, to the reputation or influence of orthodoxy. There were indeed many in his day, who hesitated about using the trinitarian creed, or advocating it, but not one was found independent enough to oppose and denounce it, as unscriptural and absurd. Though it was the leading doctrine of Moses, that Jehovah was the one only true God ; though Christ most explicitly taught the same doctrine, claiming only to be the messenger, apostle, or sent of the only true God, the Father ; and though Peter and Paul have insisted on this, as an essential truth, that there is one God and Father of all, that Jesus of Nazareth was his messenger and the revealer of his will, inspired and qualified by him for that purpose—(See Acts ii. 22 ; iii. 13—26 ; iv. 10 ; v. 21 ; x. 38 ; xiii. 23—33 ; Rom. i. 3, 4 ; 1 Cor. viii. 6 ; xv. 28 ; 1 Tim. ii. 5)—yet not one in New-England, except Dr. Mayhew, in the middle of the last century, dared to treat the dogma as unscriptural and anti-scriptural ; as irrational and contradictory ; as the invention of weak, visionary and selfish men. And such was his opposition to it, that he would neither be threatened nor coaxed to profess it, nor to be silent about it.

Was he to be commended in so doing, or not? Can this be a question with a sincere and intelligent disciple of Christ? Was the conduct of Luther, or of Erasmus, the most commendable, and the most favorable to the advancement of christian truth? What cared the Romish priests for the learning of Erasmus, so long as he did not openly and decidedly oppose them? The great body of the people could not read; and the writings of Erasmus, though indirectly showing the errors of popery, could do it no great harm. Luther gave it the deadly blow, by exposing its unjust claims, its absurd rites, and its corrupting tenets, to the view of the multitude, and appealing to their reason and conscience, and to scripture itself to decide.

Were the English reformers and the puritans, in the 16th and 17th centuries, in seeking greater changes in their church government, discipline and forms, under Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James, Charles I. and II., justified in their efforts, and final dissent? Or should they be stigmatized, as unreasonable schismatics, as weak fanatics, and wicked violators of the peace of the church? They wished a greater reform in the time of Henry VIII., and a nearer approach to the model of the church in the apostolic age and that immediately succeeding. They urged it, in the time of Elizabeth and James, with equal ability and zeal; and when they must submit to the alternative, to conform to human creeds and systems contrary to the gospel, or to flee, or be oppressed at home, they did not hesitate: they left the land of their fathers, and abandoned all worldly profit and comfort, for the sake of adhering to pure christian truth. And do we owe them nothing for all this? Does religious liberty owe them nothing? Does the cause of free inquiry and human progress owe them nothing? Rather have we not just cause to bless God, that this band of honest confessors and martyrs stood forth in defence of truth and freedom, in such dark and corrupt ages, and bore the ark, in which were contained the true manna and the true testimony and word of God himself, for the spiritual nourishment of all succeeding generations of men? Who is so indifferent to the privileges and benefits resulting to us from the efforts and sacrifices of the puritan reformers, as not most heartily to rejoice that they were inspired with resolution to resist such gross usurpations and all 'spiritual wickedness in high places;' and thus left us an inheritance of civil and religious freedom, and the full enjoyment of the sacred rights of conscience? Had there been none, in those days of high claims and oppressive usurpations of prelates, but the prudent, the timid, and the temporising, it may justly be asked, what now would have been the condition of the christian world, and the moral character of society?

To Dr. Mayhew, then, much, very much, is due from the last and present generation in New-England, for his fearless opposition to all error, to mysticism, fanaticism, to human formula of faith, absurd as they could well be, and revolting as they were to sober reason, and contrary as they were to the plainest declarations of inspired scripture. If his contemporaries, generally, had not the courage to support him, let us do something to discharge the debt which the christian church owes him, by honoring his precious memory.

In some respects Dr. Mayhew was of a different character from Luther. The latter was rash, coarse, and violent; while the former was remarkable for mildness and moderation, though it did not betray him into weakness. He assumed no airs of superiority towards the most ignorant and humble, if they possessed docility, and no severity towards the erring, if they appeared ready to receive the truth in the love of it. If he was sometimes severe, it was towards the arrogant and self-sufficient, the bigotted and censorious, the dogmatical and assuming. To such as these, when attacked as to his sentiments and creed, he was ready to administer rebuke and reprimand; whether it were to the weak bigot of Chebacco, or to the most reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury. If he indulged in wit or sarcasm in dispute, it was because he saw argument would have less effect; and a statement merely according to truth and reason, be evaded by casuistry, or by appealing to antiquity or to orthodoxy. His controversial writings were equally argumentative and discriminating; and yet he availed himself of the weakness or admissions of his opponent, to show the absurdity or error of his positions; and gross error and absurd tenets were more likely to meet his ridicule than a grave reply. But it may be truly said of Dr. Mayhew, that he was serious in a serious cause. The pulpit lost nothing of its proper dignity or sacredness in him. He pleaded the cause of divine truth and christian sobriety with his fellow man, under a deep sense of his own responsibility, and of the duty of his hearers to receive and conform to the doctrines of the gospel.—His belief in human liberty, in opposition to the theory of necessity, of every kind—whether the blind destiny of ancient pagans, the philosophical fatalism of Hobbes or Hume, or the christian necessarianism, (if it be not a contradiction,) of Calvin, improved by Edwards. His full belief in human liberty and the moral powers of man, (with Milton, Locke, Clarke, Beattie, Reid, Burlamaqui, Dugald Stewart, and others,) led him to adopt exalted ideas of human nature, and to assert the accountability of men to God, for the use and improvement of the powers and privileges granted them.

He cherished sublime hopes of the moral exaltation of man, from the capacity and powers of his nature. This is the natural tendency of the theory or system called arminian, opposed to the calvinistic, or necessarian. Nor does it, by any means, reject the doctrine of divine influences on the human soul, to develope it, to aid, to enlighten and exalt it. For no one, probably, is sensible of his spiritual capacity and powers, and ability for moral improvement, but feels and acknowledges the need of the blessed influences of the divine Spirit, as well as the natural influences of divine truths, to impart life and light, and warmth and vigor, to the soul of man, otherwise darkened, or paralyzed, or corrupted, by worldly and sensual objects. In preaching, the grand aim of Dr. Mayhew was to inform, to impress, to convince, and to persuade. Man, he assumed, or was convinced, was a reasonable and moral being, with a capacity for religion; and religious doctrines and truths were for his spiritual nourishment. By these men were to become ‘possessed of a divine nature.’ By these they were to grow in grace and virtue, and in the moral image of God. And thus, while he fed babes with milk, he prepared strong meat for the man of God, that he might be nourished and grow up unto eternal life, to the fulness of the stature of Christ Jesus.

Dr. Mayhew appears, at an early age, to have been fully sensible of the superior importance of religion to all other objects and attainments; and exhibited a desire for spiritual improvement, in preference to worldly honors and possessions. Nothing like covetousness, or worldliness, appeared in his conduct or conversation. He thought little, comparatively, of this world or the things of it, which are passing away; but the christian temper and character were objects of his supreme desire and solicitude. His treasure was in heaven and in heavenly things. He might be said to have lived in a spiritual world, while he was an inhabitant of earth. For his conduct was governed rather by faith than sense. The benign influences of the gospel were powerful alike over his affections and actions. In whatever state he was, he learned to be content; for he believed in an overruling providence, and trusted in God under all the changes and trials of life. Indeed, he walked with God, like Enoch and Abraham, like Paul and the apostles; and by a holy, useful, and pious life, enjoyed much of the divine favor here, and thus anticipated the happiness of heaven.

His exhortations to his people were, chiefly, to consider the uncertainty and vanity of human life, the corrupting nature of riches, and the necessity of preparing for that immortal life revealed in the gospel, by self-denial, holiness, spirituality of affections, and the uniform practice of moral righteousness. And yet he was too wise to preach against riches as entirely useless, or always dangerous. He urged the opulent to be public-spirited and generous, to consider themselves as the stewards of God to society and to their fellow-men.

And what is mere wealth, but a temptation to pride and vanity, to luxury and licentiousness? Among an highly intellectual and moral people, it will not obtain distinction, nor procure esteem. But if generously used for the purposes of public improvement, for the interests of science and good learning, it justly confers honor on the fortunate possessor. And many of the opulent merchants of our state and metropolis have gotten to themselves an honorable name by their donations for promoting the cause of education, for charitable, and humane institutions, and for religious seminaries. Among these will be long and gratefully recollected in our community,—Thomas Hancock, and governor Hancock, governor Bowdoin, Samuel Dexter, William Phillips, senior and junior, Thomas Russell, Samuel Eliot, James Perkins, John McLean, Israel Thorndike, Christopher Gore, John Lowell, jr., lately deceased, (who has laid a foundation for the intellectual improvement of the inhabitants of Boston, his native city, for ages to come)—and 'last, though not least,' (and yet his still living forbids the mention of his name,) a most liberal and princely merchant, who, by a generous donation, has provided the means,

> 'On sightless eyeballs *now* to pour the day.' *

With the views of Dr. Mayhew, respecting human nature, and its capacity and powers for moral improvement, it might be expected that he would be an advocate for the freedom of the mind or soul, in contradistinction to those who teach that man is passive in all his volitions, and who contend for the doctrines of necessity or fatalism. He seems to have adopted the views of Dr. S. Clarke, on this difficult and long disputed subject. His father, too, was so much opposed to the doctrine of necessity, and so strenuous an assertor of the self-determining power of the mind, that he was accused of being only a semi-calvinist, if not an absolute heretic. Dr. Mayhew could not be convinced of the truth of Calvin's theory, as to predestination and irresistible grace, so called, from a faithful study of the inspired writers; nor did the consciousness of his own moral power, or the reflection of his own mind, or the suggestions of reason, lead him to adopt the necessarian scheme of Hobbes, Liebnitz, or Hume. He was equally opposed to the ancient heathen doctrine of destiny, or fate; to the philosophical necessity of Hobbes and Hume; and to the theological dogma of the total moral inability of man, and to its counterpart the tenet respecting predestination, absolute election, and compulsory conversion,* as taught by Calvin and Edwards. The theory of Edwards was, in substance, the same as that advanced by Malebrance, a French philosopher of the preceding age, or that advocated by the celebrated Hume, who was a contemporary of Mr. Edwards; that 'the deity is himself the efficient and immediate cause of every effect in the universe.' If some talked about second causes, the result of the theory was the same, for the course of events was so fixed, and such the certain concatenation of cause and effect, or of antecedent and consequent, that all freedom in man was denied or excluded.

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* The world of intellect and design is disclosed to the blind, almost as much as a world of wonderful variety and beauty to the senses of those who can behold it. Ideas on intellectual and moral subjects may be received by the deaf or blind, as well as by those who can hear or see; and they thus acquire a knowledge of the same truths, and have excited in them similar moral emotions. And hence an incontestable proof against the theory of materialism, and in favor of the doctrine of the peculiar nature and immateriality of the soul.

It was on this hypothesis that Edwards erected his defence of calvinism, of the doctrine of irresistible grace, in forming and maintaining a religious character. According to him, it was entirely and immediately the work of God. And hence follow the doctrines of personal election, miraculous conversion and the perseverance of the elect. Hobbes and Hume had, in some measure, the merit of consistency in their system; for they allowed no moral power in man, but ascribed all to extraneous causes, and thus made the mind and will entirely passive. And they had no idea of virtue or vice, moral good or evil, any farther than that some acts were for our enjoyment here, and others tended to suffering. In their belief, morality, or virtue, was conventional, or arbitrary; and a moral governor of rational beings was not required or admitted. But Edwards, as well as Calvin, talked about man's accountability, as a subject of God's moral government and of divine laws; and at the same time denied his ability to do any thing but to sin, or to choose any thing but evil. 'He chose, but was obliged to choose as he did: his volitions were effects, to be traced to a cause or power extraneous to his own mind;' and thus he was altogether as passive, and as truly a machine, as any work of human art which was moved by weights or measures; or, in other words, as completely the creature of uncontrolable destiny and necessity, as represented to be by Hobbes and Hume.

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* It is a mere quibble, to say that man is made willing, or forced to act and choose voluntarily. This is only to involve the question in mystery, and to avoid deciding whether man is free to act and choose, or is not.

Reference has already been made to Dr. S. Clarke, and other eminent christian writers, who adopted the opposite theory, and contended for man's moral power, so as to render him in reality, and not in name only, a free and accountable being. Writers among the laity, of the highest celebrity, have generally contended for the doctrines of human liberty, in contradiction both to the tenet of St. Augustin and Calvin, and of skeptical philosophers. Dugald Stewart may justly be ranked among the advocates of moral freedom, and as adopting, in a great measure, the opinions of his distinguished master, Rev. Dr. Reid.* The celebrated Burlamaqui says—'We are not only possessed of a faculty of knowing things and forming ideas; we have also an active principle or power; by which we are capable of determining to act, or not to act, or to act in one way rather than in another. This we call the will, but it is really nothing more than the power of the mind, by which it is determined of itself. The will not only acts spontaneously, that is of its own proper motion, but its determinations are free; and, therefore, it may be justly said, that man has a self-determining power, or principle; and that volition is the mind acting, or ex cise of the mind. And more than this, is constitute man a free agent, or a

Several years after Mr. Ed wrote on the subject, Rev. Dr. S. West, of Dartm published essays, by way of strictures on Mr. E rds' theory, and in favor of the freedom of the will; which he attempts to point out the fallacy of his reas gs, and the incorrectness of his premises, as to volitio being effects, and the infinite knowledge of God, some es called the divine prescience, being inconsistent wi liberty of choice in man. These essays were never ve extensively circulated, and might be largely quoted here, did it not appear somewhat irrelevent to this memoir. A few extracts only it is presumed to offer.

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* Cudworth as well as Dugald Stewart saw the coincidence between the fatalism Hobbes, and the necessarian or predestinarian schemes of the calvinists. The former says, 'The licentious system which flourished in his time, (referring, is supposed, as well to the tenets of the prevailing fanatics, as of the Hobbists) grew up from the doctrine of the fatal necessity of all actions and events.' And Stewart says, they had a common zeal for the scheme of necessity. A similar remark was made by an eminent Scotch divine, as to Hume's and Edwards's essays, that their doctrine semed to be in substance if not entirely similar.

'It is not proper to say, that moral action can take place in the mind, when it is deprived of the power of not acting. If this were the case, the mind would not be free; and therefore not accountable for what it does, and for what it does not.' 'It is admitted that arguments may be presented so strongly to the understanding as to be invincible; but the understanding is not the active but the perceptive faculty of the mind; and liberty is in the will, which is the only active faculty of the mind.' 'I admit that the mind determines or chooses upon motives, but not strictly speaking of necessity by motives; for motive and action are essentially different.' Mr. Edwards considered volitions, (or the will of choosing and acting,) as effects; yet he would not say they were produced by blind fate; he would not allow that man had a self-determining power, nor yet that sinful volitions were produced by the direct agency of the Deity. This he disclaims, and says, 'Sin is not the fruit of any positive agency of the Most High, but arises from the withholding of his action or energy.' And therefore he substitutes motives as a sort of middle beings, or agents, between the Deity and the human mind; and makes these motives the proper and efficient causes of our volitions. So I have always understood him, though this appears to be a gross absurdity. Indeed, he expressly says, that 'if the acts of the will are excited by motives, those *motives are the causes of the acts of the will*, which make the acts of the will necessary, as effects necessarily follow efficient causes.' Mr. Edwards does not say, then, that motives are the *occasions* merely, but the efficient cause of acts of the mind.

'I am sensible that necessarians may and do believe in a general and controlling providence; but this is consistent only with a predetermined and fixed system of things, which must take place according to physical laws or secondary causes, which are unalterably efficient in every minute occurrence which takes place by the will or choice of moral agents. This seems to me incompatible with the plainest declarations of scripture; as well as with the common idea of a particular providence grounded on the free agency of man.

'Volition, as I suppose and contend, is an exercise of the mind, and not merely a property of the mind, or the mind acting or willing; and yet it may also be considered as a property of the mind, for it belongs solely to the mind to be in the exercise of willing or acting; i. e., volition is peculiar to the mind.—When we speak of the decrees of God, we mean to speak of the Deity as decreeing; and by the knowledge of God, we mean God considered as knowing. So when I speak of volition as the exercise of a property of the mind, I mean by it, the mind considered as acting or willing. Properties are the ways by which the existence of any being is made manifest to us. One way by which we are convinced that the mind *exists*, is, that we are conscious it *acts;* therefore, when we speak of volition, we consider the mind in a partial view, and only as acting. Will it be said (as seems to be implied,) that it belongs not to the mind to act; or that volition is not action; or that *properties* are beings, which have an existence separate from the mind?

'If cause and effect are not synonymous terms, then, in whatever sense any thing is a *cause*, in that sense it is not proper to call it an *effect.* The mind acting, is the mind *causing;* for when the mind acts, it produces an *effect.* There is, then, a manifest impropriety, (which produces great confusion in language,) to speak of the mind *acting*, or exercising itself, as being an *effect;* though I readily grant that the human mind or spirit is an *effect*, as it is created by God: but it is, nevertheless, capable of being a *cause*, having the property or power to act, or to refrain from acting. But the question is not, whether the Deity created the mind with the power of choosing or acting; but whether every volition, or act of the mind, is a *new effect*, produced immediately by God, or some other extrinsic cause? It is also asked, 'How was it possible for God to make man an intelligent being, unless he made him, not only with the power of volition, but with volition itself? And if God made man with action, did he not make him acting?' But this is saying that God cannot give us a faculty or power, unless that faculty or power is constantly in exercise, and by his special agency. This is too absurd, or too unreasonable, to require any remark. And Mr. Edwards says, in noticing some of Lord Kaims's positions—' Nothing which I maintain supposes that men are hindered, by any fatal necessity, from doing, and willing, and choosing as they please, with full freedom ; yea, with the highest degree of liberty ever thought of, or that can possibly enter into the human mind to conceive.' '

It appears that the celebrated John Locke was a favorite author with Dr. Mayhew ; and that he was much indebted to that eminent writer for his views on civil government. Milton, Sidney, Locke, Harrington, and others who wrote on political subjects, were sent to Dr. Mayhew by Mr. Hollis, both for his own use and for Harvard college. And his sentiments respecting the nature of human government were conformable, generally, to those writers, especially to Locke ; whose object, in his principal work on this subject, was to justify the revolution of 1688, and to establish the doctrine, then very reluctantly and partially recognized, that civil government should be founded in the natural rights of the people. The ' Letter ' of Locke, on toleration, his ' Thoughts on Education,' his ' Reasonableness of Christianity,' and his ' Essay on the Human Understanding '—all these were much admired by Dr. Mayhew, and were the means of giving him correct and liberal views on these high subjects, so interesting to man, as a rational, social, moral and religious being. And it is evident he did not so understand and interpret that great reasoner, as to consider his writings favorable to materialism, much less as laying a foundation for such a doctrine. It is said that Locke was induced to write his essay on the understanding, on hearing a dispute between some learned men at Oxford ; which he said was chiefly a *dispute about words*. But though Locke is a clear and discriminating writer on metaphysical subjects, compared to others of his time, such is the imperfection of human language, that it is not a rare instance that a writer's meaning is greatly mistaken. Locke has been charged with contending for doctrines on which the materialist and skeptics have reared their uncomfortable systems. He asserted that we receive ideas chiefly or partly through the senses, and from external material objects—and who does or can deny it?—but he was far, very far from teaching, '*Nihil est in intellectu, quod prius non fuerit in sensu;*' and asserted that ideas were also acquired by the reflection and operation of the mind itself. No man had a more deep conviction of the intellectual and moral powers of man, or of the spiritual nature and ability of the human soul, than Dr. Mayhew; and the moral fitness and unfitness of actions and affections, he believed to be founded in the eternal difference of things, and the will of the wise, intelligent, and benevolent governor of the universe.

The ministerial profession was, with Dr. Mayhew, a matter of deliberate choice. He early turned his thoughts to the sacred work of a gospel minister, and he was most faithful in the discharge of its high and difficult duties. The moral and religious improvement of his people was the dearest object of his heart; and all his various learning and commanding talents were made to contribute to this end. He was not a dull, formal, common-place preacher; but aimed to arouse and to impress his hearers; to excite serious consideration; to beget inquiry on religious subjects, and to show the truth, and the everlasting importance of religion. Dr. Mayhew was called a liberal and rational Christian: and he was truly such. He formed his religious opinions from reading and inquiry, from reflection and a careful perusal of the inspired volume. He was, therefore, liberal in his views, as to the speculative doctrines of theology; but he never made any compromise with sin; never apologized for licentious conduct; never connived at deeds of iniquity. The doctrines he inculcated were all according to godliness, to purity, sobriety, and a holy life.

The temper and deportment of Dr. Mayhew, according to the representation of his personal friends, were mild and conciliating; and in conversation, he was not only moderate but even diffident as to his manner and treatment of his company. But it is said, he wrote with severity. He did so, when his opponent was uncharitable, assuming, and censorious. He dipped his pen in gall, when defending his character and opinions from unjust aspersions, and when he knew that his accuser was so hard in conscience and so weak in intellect, that nothing else would make the one feel, or the other perceive the shaft.

The decision and independence of character in Dr. Mayhew, has already been noticed; and it was not a very general virtue of the clergy in his time. He discovered a singleness of purpose and an explicitness in his religious belief, which have not been commonly found in popular preachers. They may not be charged with professing what they considered to be false, nor of preaching doctrines which they disbelieved. Their imperfection consisted in conforming to the popular creed, and in the want of impartial inquiry and of an open confession of all they found to be the truth. They often lacked independence, and on difficult subjects were disposed to go with the majority, and to follow ancient creeds. Dr. Mayhew was of a different, and it is believed of a more lofty spirit. He was the first clergyman in New-England who expressly and openly opposed the scholastic doctrine of the trinity. Several others declined pressing the Athanasian creed, and believed strictly in the unity of God. They also probably found it difficult to explain their views on the subject; and the great danger of losing their good name served to prevent their speaking out. But Dr. Mayhew did not conceal or disguise his sentiments on this point, any more than on others, such as the peculiar tenets of Calvin. He explicitly and boldly declared the doctrine irrational, unscriptural, and directly contradictory. Yet he did not dogmatize; and he did not require others to believe precisely as he did, nor denounce trinitarians as wicked, polytheists, or hypocrites. In what sense Christ was the Son of God, or what was the particular nature of the connection between the Father and the Son—'the holy child Jesus,' 'a man approved of God by the signs and wonders and miracles which he performed'—he pretended not to decide; but insisted that God was ONE and SUPREME, and Jesus was sent by God, to instruct, to reform and save the world. And this faith or creed should satisfy all reasonable men in the christian community.

The clergy have often been accused of being ambitious, of seeking for pre-eminence, and aiming at undue power and authority over their fellow-men. In some countries, this accusation has, no doubt, been justly made against them. But in New-England, there has never been much cause to complain of this; and at the present day, the charge would be unjustly brought. And no one was more free from wishing 'to have dominion over the faith of others,' or from claiming authority to decide, either in cases of discipline or doctrine, than Dr. Mayhew. He had nothing of the character or spirit of a hierarch. If there were any 'lord brethren' among the clergy, he was not one. He was a republican in religion, as well as in politics. In other words, he was a true congregationalist; and agreed with Dr. Stiles, 'that though he approved of much in the government of the churches of Scotland, and of Holland, he preferred that of the congregational churches, as maintained in New-England, believing it to be more conformable to apostolic and primitive example.*

On some speculative doctrines, Dr. Mayhew had different views from the clergy of his day; and he never hesitated to express them plainly and explicitly. He had no weak fear of man to prevent his acknowledgement of what he believed to be agreeable to inspired scripture. He not only opposed the scholastic doctrine of the trinity,† but the five points of calvinism;* considering them without foundation in the sacred volume, highly irrational, and unfavorable to all human effort for religious improvement. Yet he most faithfully studied the inspired writings, to learn the will of God and the mind of Christ, and humbly bowed to their divine authority.

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* The first independent (or congregational) church publicly formed in England, was in 1616, and Henry Jacob was the minister; to whom succeeded John Lothrop, who afterwards came into Plymouth colony. Mr. Jacob was acquainted with Rev. John Robinson, the pastor of the English church at Leyden. Mr. Robinson and his people had become separatists several years before; but they held meetings usually in private, and their existence does not militate with the fact, that Mr. Jacob's was the first independent church known and noticed as such. It is somewhat remarkable, that the same phrase is used in their covenant, as is contained in that of the church in Brattle-Square, Boston, adopted in 1699, and lately voted to be retained; viz., 'We covenant with each other, in the presence of God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, as far as already made known or revealed to us, or as shall further be made known to us.'—The first nonconformist minister ordained *publicly* in England, was Dr. E. Calamy, in 1694. Before that time, such was the intolerant spirit of the hierarchy, that there would have been a mob on the occasion. Six others were ordained at the same time, and six older clergymen assisted. The ordination was in Dr. Annelsey's meeting-house.

† In a note, p. 22, the doctrine of the trinity is mentioned as one of the peculiar tenets of Calvin. This was mere inadvertence. Many arminians, it is known, have been trinitarians. It is not a little remarkable that the creed of

Like a true patriot, Dr. Mayhew cherished a sincere desire for the liberty and welfare of his country, and took a deep interest in all questions and measures by which its welfare and liberties were affected. He had been educated in the love of civil liberty, as well as of learning and religion. And he had too much of the spirit of the puritans and republicans who settled New-England, to be indifferent to the social condition of his own generation, or of posterity. He perceived that the arm of power, which had often been stretched out to oppress the people in the American colonies, was still extended to crush them, or to keep them down in a degraded and servile state. He was ready to unite with other friends of civil liberty, in his day, in all suitable plans and measures for the preservation of their social rights, secured by the wisdom and virtue of their fathers. Most of the clergy in New-England acted the same patriotic part, but in a far less conspicuous manner, and with far less influence. And in this, it is believed they were not only justified, but commended by the wise and intelligent part of the community. Had Dr. Mayhew devoted his time to party politics; had he courted men in power, for the sake of office or profit, or flattered the people, to gain popularity; he would indeed have been liable to the censure and contempt of good men. But nothing was more contrary to his practice or his

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Athanasius was condemned by three large councils, even in his time; one of them the largest ever known, composed of upwards of three hundred bishops.

* It would be quite as proper to refer the doctrines, hitherto called *orthodox*, respecting predestination, &c., to Augustin, as to Calvin; for he was the father of that system, though Calvin endeavored to confirm them. Augustin was a *Manichean* the greater part of his life, believing in two original and independent principles; the one good and the other evil. In the latter part of his life, he gave up that unscriptural and strange doctrine, and adopted that of fate, or destiny, or necessity, in opposition to human liberty, or free will in man. In his zeal to support the doctrine of one Supreme Being, and of the divine sovereignty, he taught that God was the sole agent in the universe; and that he not only directed and governed all things, but that all things came to pass by his direct energy, even the volitions of men.

sentiments, than such an unworthy course. He was independent almost to a fault, and approaching almost to imprudence. He set his face against all riots and violence, and would resort only to lawful means for redress under oppressions and wrongs. Neither the sacred duties of his profession, nor the spirit of his religion, forbade him to consult and act for the welfare of his fellow-citizens. And he even considered it a duty, as a member of society, to be active in all proper ways, for its improvement and prosperity. The clergy always have had, and always must have great influence among their fellow-men ; and it is their duty to use that influence for good and in prevention of evil. And it cannot be justly said that they step out of their sphere when they unite with others, in efforts to advance the cause of rational liberty, of social peace, and of suffering humanity.

Dr. Mayhew was opposed to all state or national systems of religion ; or rather, to religious establishments for mere political purposes ; but not to general laws providing for religious institutions, and teachers of piety and morality ; allowing liberty to the people to elect their teachers and to adopt their own particular creed, form and discipline. He thought, with archdeacon Blackburne, 'that though the papists had the name of Christians, and the forms of religion, they had nothing of its true spirit and principles.' The constitution of Massachusetts, it is believed, places the subject of religion, so far as civil government may interfere, on proper ground.

It is a great objection to a national ecclesiastical system, especially if it enjoins numerous rites and forms, that it tends to make hypocrites and mere formalists in religion. Members of such an establishment will be apt to rest in outward observances, to the neglect of vital piety. The Jewish religion is not to be pleaded in contradiction to the truth of this opinion, but in illustration of it. The Jews were hypocritical formalists ; and yet, at the early period when the law of Moses was given, such a system was necessary. But our Lord has annulled all the Mosaic rites, and has taught a far more spiritual religion.

In Roman catholic countries, true religion and good morals declined, as rites and forms were multiplied ; and from the fourth and fifth century to the reformation, was altogether a corrupt and corrupting system. Such, also, in a great measure, has been the fact in England, where unscriptural forms and ceremonies are made essential. But there is another and greater evil resulting from such systems of religion and worship. Intelligent men become skeptics and infidels in such communities. They ought, indeed, to examine and distinguish more carefully; but they do not usually; and the greater part reject the whole system, on account of vain or unimportant ceremonies. Reference might justly be made in this respect also to Italy, France, and even to Great Britain. Most infidel writers have drawn their objections, not from the real doctrines and plain precepts and simple forms of Christianity, but from human creeds, false glosses and showy rites—the work of ambitious individuals, and for the sake of power in the church.

When Dr. Mayhew was ordained, it was well known that he did not believe in the trinitarian dogma: and this was the chief reason with the clergy for declining to assist, as well as for withholding ministerial intercourse with him for a long period: for many of them were as anti-calvinistic as he was. Dr. Lowell says, that Dr. Mayhew was full and decided in his belief that God is ONE; and, it may be added, in opposition to the trinitarian creed, however attempted to be explained consistently with the fundamental doctrine of the divine unity. Dr. Mayhew and his church may justly, therefore, be considered the first in New-England, which openly adopted the unitarian faith. He was not, indeed, a socinian, or humanitarian; and, therefore, not a unitarian, in the sense in which the term is now used in England. But unitarian ought, and does usually in this country, signify any and all who are anti-trinitarians; whether they adopt the views of Lardner, or of Worcester, in his 'Bible News,' which is nearer the arian theory. It is confidently believed, that there was not a strict trinitarian clergyman, of the congregational order, in Boston, in 1800.

The sincerity and purity of mind, as well as the independence and boldness of Dr. Mayhew, were admitted by all. Even his warmest theological opponents were ready to do homage to those lofty qualities in his character. Rev. Andrew Croswell, a rigid calvinist, a follower of Whitfield, and friend of Cleaveland, acknowledged, on the death of Dr. Mayhew, 'that he was an example to all ministers, for his sincerity and uprightness of mind;' at the same time he regretted that he had been the cause of the prevalence of the arian or unitarian doctrine.

The narrow-minded and ignorant, who adopted opinions merely because they were ancient, or commonly received, and who dared not to inquire for themselves, or openly to avow their sentiments, if unpopular, passed heavy censures on Dr. Mayhew for his independence, and called him a dangerous heretic. But this did not move him nor check him in his impartial inquiry for religious truths, or in his exposure of the gross errors prevailing in the christian church. And to such characters as Dr. Mayhew, the present generation owes a debt of gratitude, which is not easily discharged. By their honesty and firmness, absurd tenets have been discarded, and doctrines highly favorable to the moral improvement and the virtue of mankind, have been asserted, defended, and disseminated. The prudent and the timid are too apt to condemn bold reformers, and the honest opposers of popular errors; and yet are always ready to claim the merit or the reward due to reformers. But the honor belongs exclusively to the honest, the faithful, and the resolute, in adhering to truth. The wit and learning of the timid Erasmus were of little avail in preventing the gross errors and dangerous power of popery. The boldness and decision of Luther were necessary to expose the absurd and licentious doctrines of the papists to the abhorrence and reprobation of the people. The moderate reformers in England, in the 16th and 17th centuries, but half accomplished the good work of having a pure faith and worship; and we are indebted to the zeal of the puritans for a thorough reformation in the christian church. And but for their wise and steady opposition, the English hierarchy would now be far more oppressive than it is; and lordly bishops, with high salaries and great power, would have been placed in New-England, for more than a century past.

The clergy in New-England, as a body, have always been learned and exemplary; they have been respected and respectable, and their influence in the community highly important and useful. Sometimes, indeed, it has been pretended that they had an undue share of influence in society; and that they even sought and claimed more than was proper. Being men of learning and teachers of religion, it must be supposed they would possess a great degree of honor with their fellow-citizens. For 'knowledge is power;' and much more is virtue or character power. But it is generally true that the clergy have used their influence with discretion, and for promoting the moral welfare of society; and have not assumed or sought power for selfish purposes, nor for the aggrandizement of the profession. No doubt there may be found a few exceptions to the truth of this general remark. Some of the clerical profession have been ambitious, worldly, vain and selfish, like other men; and the holy gospel has failed to make them humble, spiritual, and disinterested, as it is designed. Dr. Mayhew was of the former class, or description. He exercised the moral power, which his talents, learning and profession gave him, for the benefit of society, for the enlightenment, the virtue, the liberty and happiness of his fellow-men. And it is to be devoutly hoped that our country will long be favored with an able and faithful christian ministry, as in past periods; and that their characters and services will be duly appreciated for many generations.

The age of Dr. Mayhew was not barren of good scholars and able writers; but it will be expected that only some of the most eminent can be noticed, and that very briefly.

William Shirley, who was several years the chief magistrate of Massachusetts, (from 1740 to 1756,) though not a native of the province, was sometime a practising lawyer in Boston, before he was governor. He was esteemed a good scholar and an elegant writer. His talents were of a high order; and many of his public letters remain as testimonies of his literary abilities. Governors Belcher, Shute, and Burnet, who preceded him, were also among the first literary characters of their time. Governor Pownall, the successor of Shirley, was an elegant writer and a distinguished politician; but he was only a few years in Massachusetts, (from 1757 to 1760.) Sir F. Bernard, who was in the chair from 1760 to

1770, was educated at Oxford, and he wrote with correctness and energy; but in his political principles he was very arbitrary. His successor, Mr. Hutchinson, was a distinguished scholar and an able writer. No person was better acquainted with the history of the country; and his reading, on political subjects, was extensive. He had to contend with such men as Otis, S. and J. Adams, and Bowdoin; and his speeches indicate a discriminating and well stored mind. His morals were correct, and his piety undoubted. But he, too, in the latter part of his public life, became an apologist for arbitrary measures in the British ministry, which were inconsistent with the civil rights and liberties of the colonists. Andrew Oliver, sometime lieutenant-governor of the province, had the character of a good scholar and writer; and he published pamphlets both on politics and theology. He was an early member of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. He died in 1774.

John Read had the reputation of the most learned barrister of his age. He died in 1749, at the age of seventy. The members of the bar in this country were then far less learned in that honorable profession than they now are: and few of the justices of the Superior Court were educated lawyers. Mr. Read first studied theology, but was never settled in the ministry. He wrote on political subjects and on grammar, and he is mentioned by his contemporaries as alike learned and eloquent.—Jeremy Gridley was not only eminent as a lawyer, but as a general scholar: and may be justly classed among those, whose literary character were an honor to Massachusetts, the middle of the last century. James Otis and John Adams were his pupils. He published some political pieces, and was some time editor of a political paper. He died in 1767.

Benjamin Pratt may, perhaps, be justly placed at the head of the legal profession in this country, at the time of his death, which was in 1763, at the age of 54, when he was chief justice of the highest judicial court in the state of New-York. He was born in Massachusetts, educated in Harvard college, and practised law some time in his native province. Judge Pratt possessed a poetical genius or ability, of uncommon richness, and brilliancy: but the laborious study of the law led him to neglect the fertile powers of the imagination, for a close but necessary attention to the judgment and the understanding. Gov. Hutchinson says, ‘It was extremely rare in his time and before, that Boston chose lawyers for representatives; that Read was sent only one year, and Pratt but two years, though both were able and honest politicians.’ At a later period, and in the time of Bernard and Hutchinson, James Otis, Oxenbridge Thacher, and John Adams, were members of the legislature from Boston.

Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, educated in Harvard college, and in the class with governor Hutchinson, was one of the distinguished men of his time. He first studied divinity, and preached a few years, but never received ordination. He is described as a man of useful learning and an able writer on political subjects. Many of his public letters are preserved, and are honorable alike to his industry and judgment.

Hon. John Winthrop, for forty-one years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard university, (viz., from 1738 to 1779,) may be considered as a man of the greatest science in his time. As an astronomer and mathematician, he was the first in America, and scarcely second to any in Europe, of that period. No individual in this country since has surpassed him, except the highly distinguished man of science, lately deceased.*

Professor Winthrop had the literary distinction of being elected a member of the Royal Society in London, when very few in America had received that honorable notice. He was also a learned theologian, and an able defender of the christian faith. His witness in its favor was the result of faithful and full inquiry; and no one had a better claim to speak decidedly on the subject.

Between Dr. Mayhew and Prof. Winthrop there was a close and cordial friendship. Their tastes and pursuits were similar; and strongly attached to the free institutions of New-England, relating both to religion and civil government, they were desirous to perpetuate them. Nor did they think that their profession, either as a clergyman, or an instructer in the college, afforded just excuse for neglecting advice or action, in the social welfare of their fellow-citizens. Dr. Mayhew sent all his publications to Mr. Winthrop, soon after they were issued from the press; and they are still preserved by a literary member of the family.

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* Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., who, in mathematical calculations, never had a superior.

Chief Justice Paul Dudley, the founder of the Dudleian Lecture in the university, and a grandson of the first governor Dudley, was esteemed a man of general literature, as well as an able lawyer. The public lecture founded by him, is an evidence both of his love of good learning, and of his reverence for pure religion.

His successor, as chief justice in the province, Stephen Sewall, who was a member of Dr. Mayhew's church, and his most sincere and confidential friend, is to be classed among the learned characters of his age. He was some time a tutor in the college, where he had a high reputation as a classical scholar. And it is but justice to consider him as one of those excellent men, who gave a character for intelligence and public and private virtue, to his generation, which has not been exceeded in any period since the first settlement of New-England.

The very eminent patriot, Samuel Adams, is justly entitled to the character of a learned man, as well as of an able political writer. He was also familiar with the works of the best theologians extant in his time. His powerful mind, however, displayed itself chiefly in political discussions; in his very able treatises in defence of republican governments and the rights of man.

President John Adams, a contemporary and friend of Samuel Adams, speaks thus of the latter, in a letter to one of his correspondents: 'In dress and manners, he was a plain, simple, and decent citizen. There was usually nothing extraordinary in his speeches, in town meetings or house of representatives. But on great occasions, when his feelings were deeply excited, nature seemed to erect him, without any symptom of affectation, into upright dignity of deportment and gesture, and gave an harmony to his voice, which made an impression on his auditors, the more powerful and lasting, for the purity, correctness, and nervous elegance of his style.' Mr. Adams had a delicate ear for music, and always joined in singing at church, with a commanding and melodious voice.

Mr. Adams was very intimate with Dr. Mayhew; for they were both ardent patriots, and both religious characters. The same views, respecting the English hierarchy, and the danger from it to civil as well as religious liberty, which Dr. Mayhew has given, were entertained by Mr. Adams. He was a republican, both in ecclesiastical and in political affairs: and he considered the united influence of the high-church party and the tories, as exceedingly hostile to the liberties of the people, and as threatening to all which was dear to them as men and as Christians. There is a remarkable similarity in the sentiments and views of Dr. Mayhew, on civil government, and of Mr. Adams and James Otis, as appears from their numerous publications. Mr. Adams, it is said, took a deep interest in the controversy on episcopacy, so ably conducted by Dr. Mayhew, in 1763 and 1764; and after the dispute was closed, he wrote a review of it, highly favorable to the talents and patriotism of his friend.

James Otis was also an intimate friend of Dr. Mayhew. The letter, written to Mr. Otis only a few days before the last sickness of Dr. Mayhew, is proof of the esteem and confidence of the latter towards the former; and is an acknowledgement of the great influence of Mr. Otis in the measures then adopted or proposed by the friends of liberty. These two eminent men were alike ardent and decisive in whatever they believed for the security of true liberty and for right; and alike fearless of opposition from men in power and their servile tools. Otis was accused of being ambitious, and of being disappointed in office, both for himself and father. But they who best knew him, had great confidence in the sincerity of his patriotism, and his ardent love of liberty. He was also ranked among the learned men of his time; and was a proper character for a companion to Dr. Mayhew.

James Bowdoin was another of the personal and literary friends of Dr. Mayhew. He cultivated letters more than any man of his time, except some of the clergy and the professors in the university. His reputation for science and learning was justly great in Europe. He was, moreover, much endeared to Dr. Mayhew for his unfeigned piety and truly christian character. He was long a public professor of religion; and his whole deportment was highly exemplary. Rev. Dr. Thacher, his minister, gave him an exalted character, at his death, as a firm believer, on examination, of the divine origin of Christianity; and as one who derived great consolation from his faith, in the last moments of his life. Mr. Bowdoin was also a true patriot, and an able, decided advocate for civil liberty, though not so ardent as Otis.

Oxenbridge Thacher, descended from one of the ancien and most respectable families in the province, and who was one of the distinguished lawyers of his age, was a particular friend and co-patriot of Dr. Mayhew. He died in 1765, when he was only forty-five years of age. He had then been a representative from Boston several years. The public grief, at his death, was very great; for he had taken an active part in the politics of the day; and much was expected from his abilities, learning, and patriotism. He wrote ably on trade, on the currency, and other important subjects of a public nature; and his moderation, mildness, and his reputation for honesty and sincerity, gave him a large share of influence in the community. John Adams speaks of Mr. Thacher, as 'an eminent barrister, and of extensive practice. There was not a citizen of Boston more generally beloved and respected, for his learning, ingenuity, and every domestic and social virtue, and for his upright conduct in every relation of life.' Gov. Hutchinson said—'Thacher was not born a plebian, but was determined to die one.' Mr. Thacher, as well as Otis and others, were jealous of the all-grasping ambition of Hutchinson; and when he found him, not content with the office of lieutenant-governor, captain of the castle, judge of probate, and one of the executive council, seeking, in 1761, for the office of chief justice, when he had promised his influence for another, he was highly displeased, and hesitated not to say, that he was not only an ambitious, but a dangerous man, and would probably decide in conformity to the wishes of the British ministry and the officers of the crown. He was the father of Rev. Dr. Thacher, sometime the popular and beloved pastor of the church in Brattle-Square, in Boston.

Robert T. Paine, one of the principal agents in the revolution of 1775, and many years a judge of the Supreme Court in Massachusetts, was a personal friend and an associate of Dr. Mayhew. Judge Paine was one of the delegates to the first continental congress, in September, 1774; and one of the five patriots from this state, which signed the Declaration of Independence. He studied theology, and preached occasionally for three years; but afterwards engaged in the legal profession. He had a strong literary taste, and was fond of the society of learned men. His theological views were such as are usually called liberal, and he became a great admirer of Dr. Mayhew. When advanced in life, he often spoke of 'that great man,' as he called him; and represented him as the apostle of liberty, especially religious liberty in New-England. And this high opinion of Dr. Mayhew was expressed by many judicious men who knew him, as well as by Judge Paine. Those who differed from him in politics, and who were in favor of submitting to the measures of the British ministry, were as ready to defer to his eminent abilities and virtues, as the most decided whigs, with whom he fully agreed in opinion. Hon. Harrison Gray was one of his most intimate friends, and his warmest eulogist after his decease.

Another attached and admiring friend of Dr. Mayhew, was Hon. John Adams, one of the brightest lights which has ever shone in the North American hemisphere. He had discernment early to appreciate the superior talents and excellent qualities of Dr. Mayhew; and in the decline of life, spoke of him in terms of great praise. In his essays on canon and feudal law, in 1765, Mr. Adams gave evidence of extensive reading and a powerful mind; and pointed out the evils and the oppressions which the common people had for ages endured, under the ecclesiastical authority, as well as by arbitrary power in the lay lords and barons.

These essays concurred with the writings of Dr. Mayhew, in exciting the watchful attention of the people to the claims and usurpations of the English hierarchy. They were soon published in England by the influence of Mr. Hollis; and were at first supposed to have been written by Mr. Gridley, an eminent lawyer, with whom Mr. Adams studied, and who was then of the age of sixty. The work discovered extensive reading, as well as a powerful intellect in the author. He showed that, for a long period, the barons and the bishops had united their influence for enslaving the bodies and souls of their fellow-men. Mr. Adams said, 'If the orators on the fourth of July wished to investigate the principles and feelings which produced the American revolution in 1775, they should study the 'Rights of the Colonies,' by James Otis, and Dr. Mayhew's discourse on passive obedience and non-resistance.' Mr. Adams was not only a great statesman, but a distinguished scholar and writer. His fame is great, but not greater than his abilities and merits. But this is not the place to enumerate his various talents. His knowledge of mankind and of the past history of the world led him profoundly to observe, that 'revolutions are no trifles; they are not to be undertaken rashly; nor without deliberate consideration and sober reflection; nor without a solid, immutable, eternal foundation of justice and humanity; nor unless the people are intelligent, brave, and virtuous, to enable them with patience and steadiness to persevere through all the vicissitudes of fortune, the fiery trials and melancholy disasters which they may have to encounter.'

Samuel Dexter had a liberal, though not a collegiate education. His father was minister of Dedham; and no clergyman in New-England would fail to educate a son in a superior manner, though not sent to college. But Mr. Dexter cultivated letters more than a large portion of those who have had a college education. During a great part of his life, he enjoyed a dignified leisure, and was a good biblical scholar. He wrote in opposition to the calvinistic system; and explained the text respecting Jacob and Esau, so as to show that it gave no support to the irrational theory of personal election and reprobation. When he was chosen a member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, &c., he wrote the secretary, 'that he should be glad to do something for sending the *gospel* to poor, ignorant heathen; but he could not aid in teaching them the doctrines of Calvin; which he thought dishonorable to the divine character, and highly injurious to the cause of pure religion.' Mr. Dexter is also to be ranked among the intelligent and active friends of civil liberty, in the dispute with Great Britain, which led to our independence.

To this first class of writers and scholars, among the laity, who flourished about the middle of the last century, might be added John Lovell, the able instructer of the Latin school in Boston; Nathan Prince, a brother of Rev. T. Prince, the chronologist, and sometime a tutor in Harvard college; Mesheck Weare, several years chief justice in New-Hampshire; William Kneeland, M. D., many years a tutor in the college; Cotton Tufts, M. D.; chief justice William Cushing; Edward A. Holyoke, M. D.*

Among the most learned and eminent clergymen of that period, was Rev. Edward Holyoke, who was thirty-two years president of Harvard college; and sometime previously the pastor of a church in Marblehead. His election indicated his being a good classical scholar, and a learned theologian; for in his time it was thought important to have a clergyman at the head of the college. He was not, however, so much distinguished as a writer, as the first Dr. Wigglesworth, who was professor of divinity for forty-four years. Dr. Wigglesworth was a learned theologian; and, being not so strict a calvinist as most others of his time, he was intimate with Dr. Mayhew, the latter part of his life. The churches were greatly indebted to him for making learned and enlightened preachers. He wrote largely respecting the religious excitement made by Whitfield, Davenport, and others; and pointed out the evils which would result to the cause of religion, from the extravagant conduct and the censorious spirit of such preachers. Dr. Mayhew was too young then, (1743) to take part in the public discussions relating to Whitfield and his followers; but he spoke of him, after hearing him preach, as a ranting, incoherent declaimer, whose great object appeared to be to excite the passions and to alarm the fears of the more ignorant. Dr. Appleton and Dr. Chauncy supported Dr. Wigglesworth in his views; and Chauncy was rendered very unpopular, for some time, for the open opposition he made to the itinerants.

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* The volume, entitled *Pietas Gratulatio*, which was published on the death of George II. and accession of George III. to the British crown—the work of residents in Harvard college at that time, or of the alumni of that seminary—affords evidence that good classical scholars were educated there. Some of the writers were James Bowdoin, John Lovell, Dr. Cooper, Stephen Sewall, John Lowell, Benjamin Church, Prof. Winthrop. The pieces were in Latin verse, except two in Greek, which were by Prof. Stephen Sewall. Governor Bernard wrote the introductory address.

Rev. Dr. Appleton was pastor of the church in Cambridge, and a fellow of Harvard college, more than sixty years. No clergyman was more deservedly popular, or more faithful or useful than he was; and as a scholar he was held in high estimation. Though not an opposer of calvinism, by his public writings, he possessed a truly liberal spirit; and was one of the very few clergymen, who from the first, maintained a christian and ministerial, as well as personal intercourse with Dr. Mayhew. He readily consented to attend his ordination, whilst most others who were invited declined giving their assistance, in inducting him into the sacred office, on account of his reputed heresy.

Dr. Charles Chauncy, many years pastor of the First Church in Boston, and one of the most learned men of his day in New-England, was the particular and confidential friend of Dr. Mayhew, from his ordination to his death. He had the courage to support and defend Dr. Mayhew, when fiercely assailed for his theological opinions, and when his real sentiments were greatly misrepresented. Dr. Chauncy had read the early christian fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers, more thoroughly than any man in the country; and his examination, how far many of them were genuine or correct, was critical and able. On the question of episcopacy, no one could be said to be superior to him in information. Dr. Mayhew, probably, had not read so much on the subject; though he wrote more powerfully, as Mr. Hollis and some others supposed. When Dr. Chauncy had written on the final salvation of all men, which he chose not to publish for many years after the work was prepared for the press, he showed it to Dr. Gay, and a few other particular friends. Dr. Gay inquired if Dr. Mayhew had seen it. 'No,' said Dr. Chauncy; 'he cannot keep a secret. I am not yet ready or determined to publish it; but if he sees it, such is his frankness, that all the world will soon know it.'

The following passage from one of Dr. Mayhew's sermons on the divine goodness, some may think, implies that he was inclined to the doctrine of final, universal restoration; and it is therefore inserted in this connection.

'The consideration of God's goodness and mercy, particularly as manifested in the holy scriptures, in the redemption of the world by Christ, naturally suggests very pleasing hopes, and a glorious prospect, with reference to the conclusion, or final result of that most wonderful interposition of grace. It cannot be denied, that ever since the apostacy of our first parents, there have been and still are some things of a dark and gloomy appearance, when considered by themselves: so much folly, wickedness, and superstition are there in the present evil world. But when we consider the declared end of Christ's manifestation in the flesh, to give his life a ransom for all, and to destroy the works of the devil; when we consider the numerous prophecies respecting the destruction of sin and death, and the future glory of Christ's kingdom on earth; when we consider that he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet—the last of which is death—and till he hath subdued all things to himself; when we reflect, that, according to the apostle Paul, where sin hath abounded, grace doth much more abound; and that the same creature, (creation) which was originally made subject to vanity, is to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God; when we consider the parallel which is instituted and carried on by the same apostle, between the first and second Adam, and his express assertion, that, as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive, but every one in his order: in a word, when we duly consider that there is a certain restitution of all things, spoken of by the mouth of all the holy prophets since the world began; when we duly consider these things, I say, light and comfort arise out of darkness and sorrow; and we may, without the least presumption, conclude in general, that, in the revolution of ages, something far more grand, important, and glorious, than any thing which is commonly imagined, shall actually be the result of Christ's coming down from heaven to die on the cross, of his resurrection from the dead, and of his being crowned with glory and honor, as Lord both of the dead and of the living. The word of God and his mercy endure *forever.* Nor will he leave any thing, which is truly his own work, unfinished. 'As the heavens are higher than the earth, saith the Lord, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. My word, which goeth forth out of my mouth shall not return unto me void; but it shall accomplish that which I please; and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.' '

Rev. John Barnard, who was nearly seventy years the pastor of one of the churches of Marblehead, and died in 1770, at the great age of eighty-nine, may be classed with the ablest scholars of the last century. In his mathematical attainments he surpassed most scholars of his day; indeed, mathematics and the physical sciences were not then very popular studies. He has left a reputation for general knowledge, and especially for theology, equalled by very few of his contemporaries. And though he adopted the popular creed of his time, he had charity for all whom he believed sincerely religious. He gave his testimony to the talents and worth of Dr. Mayhew, calling him *very* reverend; at the same time, he says, he differed from him in opinion, in some important points.

Rev. Edward Barnard, of Haverhill, a few years older than Dr. Mayhew, and of the class of Dr. A. Eliot, of Boston, was esteemed as a popular pulpit orator, and an eminent divine. But he was retired and reserved in his habits, and published very little. Yet his influence was salutary in the community in which he more immediately moved.

Rev. Dr. Tucker, of Newbury, has also been ranked among the learned and liberal clergymen of the last century. He became a settled minister soon after Mr. Whitfield's first visit to New-England; and was early and uniformly opposed to his extravagant and eccentric conduct. Some of his church were of 'the straitest sect,' and accused him of heresy before a party council; and the charge preferred was, not that he did not preach agreeably to the bible, but not according to the doctrines and tenets of Calvin; which they were pleased to consider the doctrines of grace. In his life and conversation, he was a most exemplary, moral, and pious man. He also published some pamphlets and sermons, in vindication of the more rational system he embraced.

Rev. Dr. Stiles, several years the president of Yale college, was one of the most laborious and learned scholars of his day. He was sometime pastor of a congregational church in Newport, R. I.; and he cultivated both human and divine knowledge with uncommon assiduity and zeal. His knowledge of the oriental languages was equalled by very few in America; and he was well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, and all writers in polemic divinity. His friendship for Dr. Mayhew was most sincere and cordial. The peculiar opinions of Dr. Mayhew were no bar to his seeking a confidential intercourse with him. He was a professed calvinist, but far from all narrow and exclusive views; and possessed nothing of the spirit of a sectarian bigot. Dr. Mayhew was urged and solicited by him to engage in the discussion of the subject of episcopacy, when Mr. Apthorp's first pamphlet on the subject was published. Dr. Stiles was skeptical at the time he left college, but he gave his mind to reading and inquiry, on the evidences of Christianity; and soon became a firm believer, and was able to give strong reasons for his hope and faith in the gospel. He loved good men, of all sects and names. His sermon on union among different sects of Christians, is an able performance, and is honorable both to his head and his heart. He contended that there was a general agreement among all Christians, as to the important and practical doctrines; and he thought there should be less of coldness and distance between them. His praise of Dr. Mayhew, as a man of superior talents, and sincere piety, and as the able defender of the freedom and independence of congregational churches, was unqualified by any reflections of his want of true, evangelical faith. The predecessors of Dr. Stiles, as presidents of Yale college, Rev. Thomas Clap and Rev. Dr. Dagget, also sustained a high reputation for learning, and were among the brightest theological lights of the last century in New-England. And Rev. Dr. James Dana, of Connecticut, should be added to the list; together with Rev Jared Eliot and John Bulkley, of that state, though nearer the beginning of the century;

who stood high in the estimation of the scholars of that and the following age.

Rev. Dr. Gay, of Hingham, was one of the most popular preachers of the last century, and he lived through the greater part of it. He was a settled minister nearly sixty-seven years. It might be truly said that he was a learned divine; yet, for general literature, he could not be deemed equal to Drs. Chauncy and Mayhew, and some others. He was most eminent for his liberal sentiments and views in religion. He had no tincture of a narrow and exclusive spirit, as to speculative points in theology. His character was well known to the father of Dr. Mayhew, which led the son to seek an early acquaintance with so distinguished a divine. Perhaps Dr. Gay was the most confidential friend Dr. Mayhew had, without excepting even Dr. Chauncy. Dr. Mayhew was very intimate in the family of Dr. Gay, from the time he entered college; and no doubt he was indebted to Dr. Gay for the adoption, or confirmation, of the liberal and rational views which he embraced.

Rev. Dr. Colman and Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, who died near the middle of the last century; Dr. A. Eliot and Rev. Dr. Cooper, of Boston; Rev. N. Eelles, of Scituate; Rev. Dr. Symmes, of Andover; Rev. Dr. Langdon, sometime president of Harvard college; Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brookline;* Rev. Dr. Hemmenway, of Wells; Dr. S. Mather and Dr. M. Byles, of Boston; Dr. Shute, of Hingham; Dr. Webster of Salisbury; Dr. S. West, of Dartmouth; Rev. Jeremy Condy, of Boston, and Rev. John Callender, of Newport, R. I.; (the two latter ministers of baptist churches and men of learning, educated in Harvard college, one in 1723, and one in 1726—but more liberal in their religious sentiments than most of the baptist clergy of that period, few of whom had a suitable education for the ministry)*—all these, and many others, were good scholars, and of great theological learning, during the period now referred to, and preserved the light of christian truth, for the moral and spiritual health of their generation; and many of them began the good work of removing the 'wood, hay and stubble,' which, in former ages, had formed a great part of the christian temple.' The errors and corruptions of the Romish church long perverted the truths of the gospel, and debased the christian character. The reformers in the 16th century, did but half the work they ought, and which many desired; and the irrational, revolting tenets of Calvin had a prevailing influence, till Mayhew exposed their unscriptural character, and advocated doctrines far more agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel, and led men to defer to the authority of the BIBLE, rather than to the creeds of fallible men †

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* Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brookline, was sometime an instructer in Harvard college. As a minister, he was very respectable; a warm and experimental preacher; truly evangelical in his views, but of a most catholic spirit. When he was ordained, he declined submitting to a particular examination, as to his speculative opinions; and afterwards, when assisting at the ordination of others, he opposed their being examined, as had formerly been done, and even then was generally practised.

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* When Dr. Stillman, the successor of Condy, was ordained, in 1765, Dr. Pemberton, Dr. Eliot, and Dr. Cooper, of Boston, assisted in the public performances of the occasion. Dr. Stillman, however, was a rigid calvinist; and thought it necessary, in every sermon he delivered, to introduce the peculiar doctrines of that creed.

† The papists claim to be the only true and infallible church; and the church of England, as by law established, pretends to be divinely true, and denounces all others as schismatics. It is much in the same spirit of dogmatism and assumed infallibility, that the calvinists assert all to be heretics and deniers of the doctrines of grace, who do not fully embrace their creed. They claim to be exclusively *evangelical*. But by what right, and with what good reason? We all believe the gospel a divine revelation, and that it teaches doctrines not discovered by reason, nor received by the wisest sages and philosophers. We believe God is propitious—ready to forgive the penitent, returning sinner; and that grace and truth came by Jesus Christ; that he was the special messenger and agent of God to declare these doctrines of grace, and to set his seal to their divine origin and authority, by rising from the dead.

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